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Karadzic Threatens West With Terrorism

AU1308074293 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 13 Aug 93 p 1

[Report by "bbb": "Karadzic Threatens Austria and Germany With Terrorist Attacks"]

[Text] Geneva/Rome—The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, has threatened Austria and Germany with terrorist attacks in the event of a Western military intervention. "In the event of a military intervention, we are ready for anything. We will certainly find enough Serbian heroes who would be prepared to blow up vital objects abroad, particularly in countries that have something against us," the former psychiatrist stated in an interview with DER STANDARD.

"Austria and Germany will be the first countries where we will attack vital points," Karadzic added. "Not London or Paris as (military commander in chief) [Bosnian Serb commander] Mladic stated recently by mistake."

Even the procurement of nuclear weapons is no problem for the Bosnian Serbs, Karadzic threatened. "We are not prepared to renounce our self-defense. It is no problem to buy nuclear weapons in the world market. We will really use everything. We have nothing to lose." In fact, Serbia is prepared to return some of the conquered territories in Bosnia. Yet he warned the West against putting his country's readiness for defense to the test.

The Italian Government wants to deploy soldiers to protect its borders with the successor states of the former Yugoslavia. This was agreed in Rome on Thursday [12 August] during a meeting between Interior Minister Nicola Mancino and Defense Minister Fabio Fabbri.

According to Fabbri, controls along the border with Slovenia and Croatia will be tightened to prevent the infiltration of terrorists. Italy fears retaliatory strikes by radical Serbs in the event of NATO air strikes.

Security measures have been tightened in particularly critical zones around air bases.

Karadzic's threats—which have been taped—were first denied by his spokesman Jovan Zametica, but later the leader of the Bosnian Serbs admitted to having granted an interview to DER STANDARD.

Karadzic Denies Making Threat

AU1208204293 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2000 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Geneva—Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, has denied an interview that will be published in tomorrow's edition of DER STANDARD. It says that Karadzic threatened Austria and Germany with terrorist attacks if Western military intervention in former Yugoslavia takes place. According to an APA report, Karadzic's spokesman said in Geneva this evening that this interview with DER STANDARD is a complete invention. Karadzic never threatened terrorist attacks in Europe, he said.

Geneva Talks on Bosnia Suspended Further Three Days

AU1308134593 Paris AFP in English 1320 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Geneva, Aug 13 (AFP)—Stalled all-party talks here on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina were suspended Friday afternoon [13 August] for another three days, conference spokesman John Mills said.

Mills said the conference co-chairmen Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg "have decided to have a pause in the negotiations and intend to call all the parties together on Monday afternoon."

Izetbegovic: Conditions Not Met

AU1208121093 Paris AFP in English 1154 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Geneva, Aug 12 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said Thursday [12 August] that his conditions for ending a boycott of peace negotiations here had not yet been met as Serb forces remained on strategic heights overlooking Sarajevo.

"According to our information... Serbian forces are still on the mountains so the conditions for the continuation of the talking are not fulfilled," Izetbegovic told reporters here.

Accusing the Bosnian Serbs of "playing some kind of game" concerning their pullout from Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica which they captured earlier this month, the president said that "according to military experts they need only four or five hours" to withdraw.

Izetbegovic, who has boycotted the talks since August 1, on Wednesday threatened to quit the talks unless the Serb forces had completed their withdrawal from the mountains in two days.

The president ruled out suspending the talks, saying that "there are some ideas about a time-out, maybe a week or 10 days, but we are against that."

"We are for the continuation of the talks," he said, but insisted that the Serbs be "pushed out of the mountain today."

Conference spokesman John Mills said that the talks' co-chairmen Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg met separately on Thursday with Izetbegovic along with the collective Bosnian presidency, and with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. A further session was scheduled later in the day.

Izetbegovic said that he could wait "for one day or two days more" until it could be proved that the Serbs were not pulling out at all, "then we have to go home."

In Sarajevo on Thursday, a UN spokesman said that Bosnian Serb forces had completed the first stage of a withdrawal from the strategic heights, and were continuing to withdraw, but added that several thousand men were still on Mount Igman.

U.S. State Department spokesman Michael McCurry warned on Wednesday that the Serbs' refusal to pull out quickly from Mounts Igman and Bjelasnica would create conditions for a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation airstrike.

According to a spokesman for the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, all the Serb forces had withdrawn from the heights by 0600 GMT Thursday.

Bosnian Spokesman on Talks

AU1308134493 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Aug 93 p 2

[Telephone interview with Mirza Hajric, spokesman for the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, by Marta Palics in Geneva; date not given: "For the Time Being, Izetbegovic Is Negotiating"]

[Text] "The Serbs are setting up a new missile unit at Hadzici," Mirza Hajric, spokesman for the Bosnian delegation, told NEPSZABADSAG on the telephone from Geneva. He said that after the UN forces looked at the situation on satellite pictures, they will meet with the cochairmen to discuss further steps.

[Palics] What is happening in Geneva? Are the negotiations continuing? What has President Izetbegovic decided?

[Hajric] He already made a decision 15 days ago. Milosevic and Karadzic actually signed that the Serbian forces would be withdrawn from Igman and Bjelasnica which, in the view of military experts, could be carried out in two hours. Therefore, this could have been done a hundred times, but the Serbian side is provoking the mediators, the world organization, and the EC, including the three delegations that are here in Geneva as well. We do not know why. For the first time in his political career, Karadzic has not made any statements for three days. We can only wait, but our patience is limited. In the view of the Bosnian delegation, halting the talks is the worst scenario possible, but we cannot stay here while the situation is so serious at home. Practically speaking, the whole political leadership is here.

[Palics] What kind of news do you have from Sarajevo?

[Hajric] Various ones. Contrary to the agreement, Zuc Hill was attacked Wednesday evening [11 August] and Thursday morning. New missile units have been set up at Hadzici, and with these, they can shoot at the Bosnian positions at Igman. The UN observers noticed Serbian troop movements on Bjelasnica and Igman, but they are not saying whether these are coming or going. At the request of President Izetbegovic, Stoltenberg was ordered to check out the satellite pictures.

[Palics] According to certain news agencies, Izetbegovic has withdrawn from the negotiations. Is this true?

[Hajric] This is wrong. The question is whether [Serbian General] Mladic wants to withdraw. If he does not, then Karadzic should not be allowed to sign anything that will not then be observed. The world community is spending a lot of money on this peace process; therefore, it should be more effective. Rather than it being a matter of that 1 kilometer, the principles matter whether we can believe the Serbs when they promise something. We are talking about great things here—the fate of a country—and they are unwilling to withdraw from a 1-kilometer strip. Can we then negotiate on bigger issues with them?

Karadzic Accepts UNPROFOR Arbitration

AU1208203593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Report by Dusan Cukic from Geneva]

[Text] Talks are currently being held in Geneva on the initial positions to which the forces of the Srpska republic should go after they withdraw from Mount Igman. The delegation led by Radovan Karadzic claims that the soldiers have been deployed in the positions they held on 30 July, when the cease-fire agreement was signed. As usual, Alija Izetbegovic is not satisfied with this.

Mate Boban also stated that the Serbs have fulfilled all the demands set by the cochairmen. However, spokesman Mills has changed his statement and says that Owen and Stoltenberg have demanded a new meeting with Karadzic. The spokesman for the Geneva conference stated tonight that the conference will continue tomorrow, and that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] will (?arbitrate) between the Muslim and the Serbian versions of the initial positions.

Radovan Karadzic has confirmed to you reporters that a Serbian and an UNPROFOR general will establish the real state of affairs on Igman tomorrow. We want peace, Karadzic said, and will not put the negotiating process at risk over a kilometer of land, a process in which everything has been finalized except the details of the maps. We accept UNPROFOR's arbitration and its judgment on what and where the initial positions are.

So, the conference is waiting for an authoritative and precise report from Igman. The negotiating process in Geneva could resume sometime tomorrow in a way that would lead to real peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic on Talks

AU1208191193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, by Dusan Cukic in Geneva, date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] The republic of Srpska forces have withdrawn from Igman and Bjelasnica to their previous positions. This is what was agreed with Mr. Bartholomew [U.S. envoy to Geneva talks], to attain the status quo ante. In other words, we were to have withdrawn to the lines we held before the signing of the cease-fire agreement. This has now been implemented.

There are some Serbian soldiers in the mountains, but not on Igman and Bjelasnica, in the zones designated after the critical event, after the signing of the cease-fire. This is quite certain. I think that even the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesman in Sarajevo, Mr. Frewer, is contributing to the confusion. He does not have precise and correct data. He is causing confusion in the western media.

[Cukic] Does this mean, does this imply, in fact, that Izetbegovic's last trump card for boycotting the negotiations has been neutralized?

[Karadzic] There are no longer any reasons for postponements. No one can any longer justify pursuing postponement tactics. The conference will now either be held or simply cease to exist. The blame will not lie with Serbs.

[Cukic] Mr. [Mate] Boban said here in Geneva late last night that Izetbegovic is indeed continually looking for reasons to postpone [the talks]. Do you share his view?

[Karadzic] I think that the Muslim delegation, the Muslim side, has constantly been demanding postponements, since the Lisbon conference. Because of these postponements we have had 16 months of a bloody and destructive war. I think that this war should stop as soon as possible. All sides must come to the table with serious intentions of reaching an agreement.

[Cukic] Will the republic of Srpska insist on such peace negotiations?

[Karadzic] We have been pursuing that course right from the beginning. The basic Serbian national interests are known. These interests fully respect the interests of the Croatian and the Muslim ethnic communities. We are firmly adhering to this view. There is no reason whatsoever to change the position we held at the Lisbon conference, the position that we have maintained throughout this conference. We want protection. Our protection is our state within Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the union of the republics.

Owen on Resumption of Talks

AU1208190393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Geneva]

[Excerpts] The news of the day in Geneva has been spoken by Lord Owen at this afternoon's session with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. He said: The aggressor has almost entirely withdrawn from Bjelasnica and Igman. According to him, the number of aggressor's soldiers that are still there could be withdrawn today. But only when there is confirmation that the Serbian aggressor's army has withdrawn can the talks continue. It could happen even tonight.

After a 15-minute meeting with Lord Owen and Stoltenberg, President Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency confirmed this news to us. However, the president asked Owen and Stoltenberg to investigate the news that reached Geneva in the meantime, according to which the aggressor has brought a new missile system to Igman. So, there is still a lot to be done before the talks can resume. [passage omitted]

We have heard the statement made by the war criminal Radovan Karadzic after his talks with Lord Owen. Standing in front of the Palais des Nations, Karadzic said in his usual grandiose style that his troops were withdrawing from Igman and Bjelasnica, also claiming that even Lord Owen did not have all the information on that.

The complete information is that the aggressor's army is withdrawing. Whether the Geneva talks will continue or end depends upon the completion of that withdrawal. [passage omitted]

Geneva Talks Between Croats, Local Serbs Deadlocked

LD1208174293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Talks in Geneva between representatives of the Croatian Government and local Serbs became deadlocked after the leaders of the Serbian rebels sought an adjournment [odmor] so that they might have consultations on certain issues with Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs.

This happened after Gerdt Ahrens and Knut Vollebaek, assistants to the cochairmen of the peace conference, succeeded in organizing a meeting of the two sides for the purpose of negotiating the signing of a cease-fire. It is not known whether the talks will be resumed this evening or tomorrow, but the Croatian delegation withdrew in the afternoon as a sign of protest, considering the action of local Croatian Serbs to be at least inappropriate.

Belgian Hospital Offers To Treat Sarajevo Children

AU1308082893 Paris AFP in English 2328 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Brussels, Aug 13 (AFP)—A Belgian hospital has offered 20 beds as part of an international effort to care for children injured in Sarajevo, the hospital's president said Thursday [12 August]. The hospital, at Huy, southeast of Brussels, made the offer to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, said Anne-Marie Lizin, who is also a Belgian lawmaker and mayor of Huy.

"We are currently in contact with the UNHCR about bringing children to Huy in the best possible conditions," she said, adding that if their response was positive, they would contact the Belgian government about transportation.

Foreign ministry officials said the department would be prepared to contribute towards the transport and other costs if the UNHCR gave the go-ahead for the plan.

An aide to Lizin said this could involve the Belgian defence ministry chartering a special plane to make the trip.

The Huy announcement came after a team of doctors and nurses mobilized Thursday to fly to Sarajevo and evacuate 41 badly wounded Bosnians for medical care in Britain, Sweden and Ireland.

The operation began with the announcement in Stockholm Wednesday by Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt and his British counterpart John Major that they were awaiting U.N. clearance to pick up the wounded from the Serb-besieged city.

Major and Bildt said Britain would accept 20 children and Sweden 16. Ireland earlier had offered medical care for five.

The clearance came Thursday from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva, which said the 41 would be evacuated on Sunday or Monday, subject to medical approval of each patient.

In one incident in Bosnia Thursday, nine people including seven children were injured by mortars in the centre of the Vitez in central Bosnia, Croatian radio said. Three children were seriously injured in the attack, it said.

British Plane To Evacuate Wounded From Sarajevo

AU1308101293 Paris AFP in English 0943 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Harpsund, Sweden, Aug 13 (AFP)—A British plane destined for Sarajevo to evacuate 41 injured will leave Stansted airport in Britain for Ancona, Italy, Friday afternoon [13 August], visiting British Prime Minister John Major told a press conference here.

"I hope the injured will arrive in Britain at the weekend," he said, adding that any delays that may occur would be due to the assemblying of the families of those injured.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was still gathering details on the children and adults to be taken out, Major said.

"A second plane will be standing by to help if necessary. If further medical supplies are needed, we'll see what we can do," he said.

On Wednesday the British and Swedish governments announced a plan to airlift 41 critically-wounded victims of war in Bosnia out of besieged Sarajevo to hospitals in their countries.

Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt offered to treat 16 of the wounded in Swedish hospitals, while Major said 20 would be airlifted to Britain and the remaining five to Ireland.

In Sarajevo, UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said the Bosnian health ministry had okayed the evacuation, and the defence ministry was being asked Friday for final approval.

The interior ministry's passport office had received 100 litres (26 gallons) of gasoil to power office equipment and provide travel documents for the traveling wounded and their relatives.

All of those awaiting evacuation have been notified, a difficult task as only four had working telephones, Kessler said.

A first group of wounded was expected to be taken to Sarajevo airport Sunday morning.

The wounded were selected for evacuation from a list of some 400 put to a five-man U.N. medical commission.

The evacuation bid comes after a five-year-old girl, Irma Hadzimuratovic, was flown to Britain on Monday for emergency treatment after her plight focused world attention on hospitalized victims of the war in Bosnia.

Berisha, CSCE Official Discuss Minority Issues

AU1308100593 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Welcoming [CSCE Commissioner] Mr. Van der Stoel on August 12, President Berisha told his visitor that "I have invited you again so that the CSCE can contribute to the understanding of the situation of the Greek minority in Albania as well as that of the Albanian minority in Greece, which has had one of the most tragic histories in present-day Europe. This is the only minority in Europe which fears to acknowledge its ethnic origin."

During this century, the Albanians in Greece have been victims of repeated "ethnic cleansing". In the 1920s, about 300 thousand Albanians were violently transferred from Greece to Turkey. After the Second World War, about 50 thousand other ethnic Albanians were forcibly brought to Albania. Those who have remained, and there are still considerable numbers today, dare not amit to being Albanians. The regime of Enver Hoxha obviously could not call attention to the problems of the ethnic Albanians in Greece, because, as the only regime in Europe that did not sign Helsinki Charter and denied fundamental rights and freedoms to the Albanians in their own country, it could hardly talk about human rights and freedoms of Albanians in other countries.

I assure you that Albania will be a model in its treatment of ethnic groups, but I need your help and that of other international institutions to let the world know the situation of the Albanian minority in Greece, President Berisha said. It is absurd and unacceptable that a people who stem from one of the most ancient european nationalities must fear to declare openly that they are ethnic Albanians. We ask for your help in enabling them to call themselves Albanians. We demand that the Cams be allowed to return to their homes and properties and that the Arvanites (the Albanians of Greece) be given the opportunity to strengthen their ties of friendship with Greece and the Greek people. We do not demand secondary or high schools for the Albanian ethnic minority in Greece, but we only only wish that they be permitted to live as ethnic Albanians. The Greek minority in Albania has lived in peace, but I assure you that the inspiration of chauvinistic sentiments and growing tension in the south seems to arise from a strategy similar to that which has resulted in the murder of north Albanians.

Therefore neither has the Greek minority been discriminated against nor will it be in the future. The ex-communist collaborators no longer hold high state positions no matter what their ethnic group. In the same manner reform will not draw upon ethnic differences. It is our common concern, and together we will have to cope with all our hardships. Regarding the opening of schools in Himara, I would like to assure you that all historic documents show that Himara has historically spoken Albanian and only Albanian. I want to assure you once again that during your visit last may you observed that the minority was completely tranquil because it enjoyed all the freedoms and rights under Helsinki accord. At the moment, there are chauvinists who serve the Greek ultranationalists by inciting the minority. Therefore I ask you to inform the international community of this situation.

Mr.Van der Stoel thanked President Berisha for his reception, and the readiness and sincerity of the Albanian authorities to contribute to the resolution of minority issues. Mr. Van der Stoel was concerned with the tension provoked by local politicians, whose behaviour runs counter to correct and normal relations among peoples.

Later, Mr.Van der Stoel and President Berisha discussed and clarified some issues faced by Mr.Van der Stoel during his visit in Albania, and the high commissioner said he hoped the Greek Government would permit the UN mission to look at the state of the Albanian minority in Greece.

Berisha on Greek Minority, Relations With Greece

PM1108160893 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 7 Aug 93 p 7

[Report on interview with President Sali Berisha by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] *Albanian President Berisha rejects Greek claims regarding the position of the Greek minority in his country and firmly dismisses demands made by the government in Athens. This emerged during an interview.*

[NRC HANDELSBLAD] It is remarkable that according to Berisha 60,000 Greeks live in Albania, while Greece puts the figure at 270,000. How does he explain the difference?

[Berisha] I do not believe the Greek figures. In the last elections the (Greek) Party for Human Rights won 49,000 votes. This includes a large number of voters who came across from Greece and who have a Greek surname but who are in fact originally Albanian. Nevertheless, on the basis of the result we have adjusted the estimate of the number of Greeks in Albania upward to between 70,000 and 90,000. But exactly how many there are is immaterial, because the human rights of all minorities in Albania are respected in full.

[NRC HANDELSBLAD] Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis has made a number of demands: Archimandrite Maidhonis must be reinstated, the Greek minority must be given schools at every level, the free development of the minority's political, cultural, and social organizations must be guaranteed, there must be an end to the arbitrary dismissal of Greeks in the civil service, and the Albanian government must not concern itself with the right of Albanian citizens to determine their own citizenship.

[Berisha] Maidhonis was expelled for engaging in political, nonreligious activities. His return is unthinkable. As much as is possible we are trying to provide compensation for property confiscated during the communist era. For example, we have offered the Orthodox community in Tirana land to build a new church. But they are demanding the demolition of the restaurant where the old church once stood because it is holy ground. But is not all ground holy? It in unthinkable that Albanian citizens should be able to assume Greek citizenship. Everyone is free to choose a religion or a culture, but not a blood group. This is something that is determined. Greek officials have indeed been dismissed but exclusively because of the reforms and not because they are Greeks. Greeks have, wholly in line with international agreements, the right to their own schools, churches, cultural centers, and media. At the same time we are trying to integrate the Greeks into Albanian society. Thus Albania has a Greek minister and there are Greek under secretaries of state, professors, and ambassadors.

[NRC HANDELSBLAD] In what way have relations with Greece been damaged?

[Berisha] The Greek demands are simple provocation, a pillar to support the strategy of tension. Now that the Greek Government has been unable to prevent the recognition of Macedonia, it is starting to go on about "North Epirus." And this is because southern Albania is in fact on Greek territory. And do we claim areas inhabited by Albanians? Albania respects all existing borders. We only demand democratic freedom for all Albanians, no matter where they are. A civil war in Albania like the one in Bosnia is impossible. But if the repression of the Albanians in Kosovo ends in slaughter, all hell will break loose. Then the conflict would not be limited to Kosovo and Albania, but the whole of the Balkans would be in flames.

Arbnori Interviewed on Political Situation

LD1108082993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0804 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS special correspondent Petr Cheryomushkin]

[Text] Tirana August 11 TASS—"Albania does not want to trigger a confrontation with the other Balkan states. It strives for peace and stability and firmly adheres to its democratic option," Speaker of the Board of the Albanian People's Assembly Peter Arbnori told your correspondent, who visited the country together with a team of Russian journalists.

Arbnori was treated as a dissident during the Hoxha regime and had spent 28 years in prisons and concentration camps.

Describing Albania's domestic political situation as "good", Arbnori nevertheless saw no contradiction between democracy and the recent arrests of several leaders of the Socialist Party (the former Albanian Labour Party), which is now in opposition to the regime. According to the speaker, the opposition is fanning up passions, holding meetings of protest in an effort to regain the privileges that the former bureaucrats had lost due to the revolutionary reforms in the country.

"The opposition press insults the president and calls for violent actions, which have nothing in common with law and order," Arbnori stated. "The opposition calls for revenge and claims that the country is threatened by fascism, but this is incorrect, because all freedoms and liberties are safeguarded in Albania. We don't have a single political prisoner in the country".

"The Albanians," he noted, "back the democratic processes in Russia. Many of us have received education in your country and know the Russian language. A visit of our parliamentary delegation to Moscow is scheduled for this autumn."

"Our country objects to the forcible recarving of borders," Arbnori stressed. "We have invited foreign observers to see on the spot that Albania is not engaged in any war preparations. We side with everybody who stands for dialogue. But we cannot forget about the fate of our fellow-countrymen in Kosovo, where Serbia infringes upon the rights of the Albanian people, who are forming a peaceful and democratic movement."

Democratic Party Urged To Open Sigurimi Files

AU1208062093 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Jul 93 pp 1, 4

[Article by Begir Skreli: "The Democratic Party Is Scared To Open the Files"]

[Text] The Democratic Party's [PD] electoral platform published in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE of 22 February 1992 states:

"We favor the closure of the files with the exception of those of state and political officials, whose activities and attitudes must be transparent if they are to enjoy the people's trust."

More than 18 months have passed since the PD assumed power, taking over total power in all its four branches (the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, and the mass media.) During this time, within the political struggle taking place inside the ranks of the PD and which the PD is waging with the opposition, many high-level politicians have been rumored and openly accused of being Sigurimi spies and collaborators. Opening the files has been one of the press's favorite subjects. The problem has reached parliament several times. There has been guesswork an speculation of all kinds. Some say that the files have disappeared, and others that the files will never be opened. There are even those who say that the question of opening the files of not is a powerful weapon in the hands of our highest rulers, used to exert pressure on specific politicians, persuading them to toe the line and to behave as blind tools.

There is no preventing people from talking, and the press has its own job to do. Reality shows us that whenever this problem has been written in practical terms, the ruling party has found excuses for avoiding it. This also happened on 28 July when this problem surfaced in parliament.

Seeing that the PD does not intend to open the files and, moreover, RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE has accused some of its political opponents of being Sigurimi agents, Democratic Alliance deputy Perikli Leta proposed that parliament should approve a law on every deputy voluntarily opening his file.

Publish my file or shut your newspaper up, Teta said in his speech, turning to Pjeter Arbnori.

Arben Imami said that certain primitive RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE journalists, who have emerged from under who knows what stone, had accused him of spying on his colleagues at the institute and that he nevertheless subsequently dared to enter politics.

In order to defend his personal dignity, he too demanded that his file be opened and published.

Although the submitted bill had only one article, it provoked many speeches from the PD deputies. In essence, the speeches sought to justify the speakers' stands on not opening the files, a stand also clearly evident in the final voting (the entire PD group abstained, while Spahia and Stratoberdha voted against). This session showed once again that the PD is afraid to open the files.

Eduard Selami said that there should be no haste in opening the files. Opening the files now, he said, would rebound on us.

Minga: Do not make a boomerang out of opening the files.

Deliu: Opening the files should not be a form of pressure on only one wing.

Thus, the PD parliamentary group wishes to behave over the law on the files in the same way as it has done in the case of a number of other laws aimed against the Socialist Party and its supporters. It wants the law on files to strike only at its opponents.

Of course, all the PD deputies remembered to say that they favored the opening of the files in principle, but that this required a full law.

When will this full law be produced, because we are fed up to the back teeth?

Kurt Zhepa suggested that a deadline should be set for submitting a bill on opening the files to the assembly.

Men[illegible] suggested voting on a deadline when the bill should be submitted. Although these two deputies spoke at the very end, Ali Spahia's group "forgot" to set a specific date and to vote on it.

Nobody objects to handling with care the question of the files or to a full law, but this does not mean that the bill submitted by Teta hampered this. This bill aimed to give the opportunity to those who had been insulted to defend their reputations from the accusations.

It was expected that many of those accused would speak out at this session in favor of opening their files. It was expected that Mr. Arbnori, too, would insist on the publication of his file (if it exists) in order to put an end to people's talk once and for all.

Tomor Dosti proposed bringing to trial all those who speculated with the cover names of one person or another. We think that this suggestion too holds water, but would say that this is not the shortest way. A trial, they say, requires time and money, and there is no way a court can decide without seeing what is in the files. So, wherever you turn, it is apparent that the best and most dignified way out for those who have been accused is for them voluntarily to request the opening of their files. This would put the lid on everything.

Pjeter Arbnori had the bird in his hand, but let it slip from his grasp.

HRUP 'Has Not Made Any Request for Autonomy'

AU1208194093 Tirana ATA in English 0824 GMT 12 Aug 93

["Representatives of Human Rights Union Party Unclear on the Claims of the Greek Minority in Albania—Opinions of Misguided Greeks Refuted by Their More Well-Informed Compatriots"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—"Our party has not made any request for autonomy in any form," the chairman of the HRUP [Human Rights Union Party] for Gjirokaster, Kristaq Tole, told ATA on August 11, adding that "his party demands only the rights due the minority." Only 10 days after Mr. Makariadhis asked "for a specific autonomy without ethnic borders," made during Mr. Van der Stoel's first visit to Albania, another senior representative of this party attempted publicly to oppose this demand. The leaders of the Greek minority in Albania have come out of their political routine only one and a half month earlier, when the government's expulsion of the priest accused of anti-constitutional activity resulted in tension in Greek-Albanian relations. During the first days of July, various local leaders of the Greek minority in Gjirokaster refuted each others' arguments and statements on the matter, so that the rise in tension came as somewhat of a surprise to some representatives of the Orthodox Church, reporters of the minority news media, parliamentary deputies of the

Greek minority, and others. One and a half month later, there is still uncertainty about what the Greeks of Albania want.

During his two days' stay in southern Albania, the CSCE commissioner was given paradoxical information which, according to an official of the Gjirokaster municipality, was given "by confused Greeks and refuted by the well-informed Greeks."

During the latest visit in March of President Berisha in the Dropull zone, about 250 km south of Tirana, representatives of the Greek minority who accompanied the president agreed with the idea that "Albania sets a good example regarding the treatment of national minorities."

Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Speaks at Rally

AU1308070593 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Jul 93 p 2

[Speech by Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi at a rally in Tirana on 30 July: "No to Dictatorship! No to Revanchism!"]

[Text] Brothers and sisters, members and supporters of the Socialist Party [PSSh]: We have gathered anxiously at this rally because democracy, human rights and freedoms, and our national cause are in serious danger. We are sure that today a collective sigh is insufficient to call a halt to the establishment of a neodictatorship! Today we need your powerful voice, the voice of the entire Albanian electorate, the voice of genuine democrats. Democracy is a value that we are all able to appreciate, a value that we must all also know how to defend and promote.

The PSSh, aware of its mission and role as a democratic political force of the opposition, calls on the Albanian work force, the peasantry, democratic intellectuals, young people, and the women of Albania to use strong democratic action in order to prevent the sacrifice of their ideals of democracy, freedom, and human rights for the sake of the appetites of the rightist revanchist clan who are honored to call themselves fascists, ballists, and revanchists.

This is why our breasts naturally swell with the cry, "Down with revanchism of all kinds!"

Comrades, it is not [passage illegible] visible. The country is plunged into a deep economic, political and social crisis. Parliament, with its majority that has undertaken the responsibility of dividing the people, is losing its legitimacy and is behaving as if it can work with only one wing.

We insist on a properly serious appreciation of the legitimate demand of our parliamentary group and others that our country must be given a democratic constitution as soon as possible. We see the approval of the constitution as an irreplaceable factor of stability. Let our slogan, "We want a constitution," powerfully resound from this rally too.

The government has long presented itself as a party government, not a government all all Albanian citizens. Its incompetence is now beyond all doubt. As a result, political reality in Albania is changing fast. The country is threatened with chaos and even greater instability. Under these circumstances of a general political crisis, the PSSh once again makes public its demand for the resignation of the Meksi government, understanding this change to also mean a different manner of governing.

The country needs a democratic measure of this kind today, not revenge, division, and a parade of successes of the kind that would like, but which unfortunately are not real.

Unemployment continues at a rate of 39 percent. The price of bread has increased 13-fold in comparison with 1990. Our national economy is paralyzed, and has been shoved aside in order to compel it to finally bow the knee before the "plenty" of foreign markets. Its destruction is continuing in order to make it easier to put property into the hands of those who, it is imagined, will form the social base of the party-state.

In order to distract the attention of ordinary people from the drastic fall in living stands and the extremely fraught political, economic, and social situation, the Democratic Party's [PD] clan of the extreme right is paving the way for fascism in the country and an escalation of the political war against the opposition and all those who think and vote differently.

The campaign of insults, slander, and threats is giving way to a repressive regime with the persecution and arrest of political opponents and with dictates issues to the organs of justice. Typical examples have been the counter-rally in Shkoder on 18 June, threats against Socialist deputies to the point of the beating of two deputies who went to Lezhe the day before yesterday [28 July] to take part in a PSSh aktiv, the concoction of a political show trial that removed the immunity of PSSh Chairman Fatos Nano two days ago, and his arrest at 1430 [1230 GMT] today. This was a provocation just before this powerful rally. The dictatorship is embarking on a series of political trials, but is not bringing us to our knees. A regime that calls itself democratic cannot maintain itself with violence, policemen, threats, and imprisonments.

We say to the rulers of today: If the PSSh and its growing authority and support scare you, and if the Socialists' courage in denouncing political corruption and the auctioning of Albania scare you, this means that you are not the democrats you claim to be.

You may even dream of outlawing the PSSh, but we say that you are making a serious mistake. One cannot outlaw more than one half of the people, who love the ideas of democratic socialism, who love and trust the PSSh, and who have voted for it and will vote for it in the future.

You know this, and know also that time is not on the side of the revanchists, who sling mud at the National Liberation War and at the labor and sweat of an entire people. You therefore oppose the deeply democratic demand to give the green light to a new political solution that will emerge from new parliamentary elections. You say that only a handful of Socialists demand this! No, gentlemen, it is a demand of the entire people. Listen to the massed voices of the people at this rally. Listen to their unanimous cry, "We want elections!"

The PSSh, by formulating such a demand, believes thaet the difficult transition through which we are passing requires a spirit of understanding, not revanchism; social peace and not a dangerous confrontation that could even lead to civil war; an anti-crisis program for economic growth that will be the fruit of the nation's most brilliant minds' and a pannational program, a policy for Albania made in Albania, which will have as its basis the economic reform, the solution of the Albanian question, the Albanians' national unity and dignity, and the integration of Albania in Europe. The PSSh has and will have such clear and deeply national standpoints as the basis of its action.

From these standpoints, we issue once again a call to the leaders of the PD, President Berisha, and Prime Minister Meksi to consider, with all the seriousness demanded by this historic moment in which our nation finds itself, their basic political positions and their relations with the opposition, especially the PSSh as the largest opposition force, releasing its chairman Fatos Nano as soon as possible. You will bear responsibility for any other uncontrolled development of the situation.

From this rally, we call on all political forces, the trade union movement, and informal associations and organizations, to join our voice of protest in the defense of democracy, pluralism, and human rights and freedoms.

We call on the democratic public in Europe and beyond, international organizations, the European Parliamentary Council, and the organizations of the CSCE, etc., to give priority consideration to recent developments in our country and to denounce the flagrant violations of human rights and freedoms in Albania. As far as we Socialists are concerned, we declare that we will be able to act as a mature and organized political force with messages of pan-Albanian understanding and solidarity, with programs of national reconciliation and reconstruction, and a clear vision of the future. This is the Albanian Socialists' unchangeable, principled, patriotic, and far-sighted stand. Justice is with us. Democracy will triumph. Revanchism and dictatorship will not pass.

Our slogans will be, "We want the role of law, not new feudal lords in power." We want work and property for everybody. National unity above everything. Long live the PSSh.

Twenty-One Chinese Detained in Vlore

AU1108171293 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 29 Jul 93 p 2

[Report by Bardhi Sejdnrasi: "Twenty-One Clandestine Chinese Detained at Vlore"]

[Text] Even the director of the Public Order Ministry's Police Directorate found it difficult to communicate with about 21 Chinese citizens detained by the Vlore police and brought to Tirana after a tiring overnight journey ending at dawn on 27 July. The Chinese, mostly girls but including young boys, were equipped with Albanian entry visas from our embassies in Moscow and Sofia, but they were detained because most of their visas had expired. Even though most of the Chinese were totally unable to communicate with the police, it was quickly realized that their ultimate destination was Italy, via Vlore. This has become a familiar phenomenon recently. As one of the policemen accompanying the Chinese "tourists" said, the clandestine traffic in overseas immigrants has become highly profitable for those engaged in it.

The Chinese "tourists" had arrived in Albania, at Rinas Airport, on 26 June 1993, and one whole month later had asked to go to Vlore, securing for this purpose one of the many private buses operating on this route. However, they were stopped for an inspection of their documents, and it was the Vlore police who turned them back and unloaded them from their bus in front of the Public Order Ministry in Tirana. We telephoned the Chinese Embassy, and received the reply that the embassy knew nothing about these Chinese citizens, because the Public Order Ministry had not reported them, but that they would enquire of the ministry.

This is no doubt one of the activities that, as Tourism Minister Spano was the first to confirm, has become a good source of income for travel agencies, even though the minister has issued an order to suspend what has been called clandestine traffic in immigrants, especially in the direction of Italy. Now, after the Sri Lankans, Palestinians, and other Asians commonly seen round the Hotel Arberia in Tirana, the Chinese too have confirmed the anxiety of the tourism minister that Albania is being seen by Asian immigrants as a springboard to the West.

Berov, Dogan To Meet To Clarify Relations

AU1208130093 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10 Aug 93 p 1

[Report by Miroslava Belcheva: "Berov, Dogan To Meet To Clarify Relations"]

[Text] This government does not belong to any of the parliamentary factions. It is a government of those deputies who consider it a necessary conductor of national interests, Prime Minister Berov said on 9 August regarding statements made by Ahmed Dogan and hints that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] will withdraw its support.

Berov stressed that he especially values the support of the four Social Democrats, who are not members of any parliamentary faction.

Ahmed Dogan motivated his recent reservations by Berov's susceptibility to suggestions and interference on the part of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

I resolve the cadre issues in the Council of Ministers. I do not know what has changed and what evoked the skepticism of the DPS, with whose mandate I formed the cabinet, Prof. Berov said to KONTINENT. The prime minister also said that it is a normal situation when there are people who think that the government has not implemented the program that was adopted last year. However, those people should say so, and support their opinion with a vote of no-confidence in the cabinet, providing that they have enough votes for this.

On 8 August, Berov was supposed to meet the DPS leader, but the meeting was canceled because of the prime minister's previous commitments. However, the meeting will indeed take place soon.

At the meeting, I will ask Dogan what he meant by his recent statements, the problems with the tobacco price will be clarified, and I shall ask Dogan what is the story about the $250 million credit he obtained from Turkey, the prime minister said.

Berov on Cabinet Work, Relations With Macedonia

AU1208130293 Sofia REPORTER 7 in Bulgarian 5 Aug 93 p 7

[Interview with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov by Nikolay Petrini; place and date not given: "Prof. Berov: Cabinet Could Be Reshuffled in a Year or Two...."]

[Excerpts] [Petrini] Mr. Prime Minister, you have been in office for seven months. What were your successes and your failures against the background of your initial intentions?

[Berov] The government had to deal with three important matters: first, the agrarian reform, second, the privatization, and third, the struggle against crime. I think that those are the most important things, and we must work in their direction.

I think that the things are developing in a normal way, if one considers the circumstances in which our state exists. More specifically, so far, about 43 percent of the land has been returned [to private owners], 17 percent of which in its previous real scope. However, you know how difficult it is to be absolutely precise. In most cases it is impossible to ascertain whether the plot returned should have been 10 meters to the right or to the left. Nevertheless, without absolute precision, one third of the land has been returned. However, until the end of the year we will not have land-distribution plans for all villages, therefore only 55-60 percent of the land will be returned. This is a result of the numerous disputes in the villages, as well as the fact that many companies that had to present plans for the distribution of the land have not implemented their contracts. [passage omitted]

[Petrini] The negotiations with the London Club and the private bank-creditors evoke much concern. What will the position of the Bulgarian government be toward the September round of the negotiations?

[Berov] At present there is a deep gap, if not a precipice between what the banks want from Bulgaria and what Bulgaria could really pay. This should not be viewed as a limited opinion of the cabinet. The government is guided by a mandate given to it by the National Assembly, which sets certain limits. We can negotiate about a certain percentage within those limits, and pay according to them. The cabinet indeed moved within those limits set by the parliament.

One should not be afraid of the temporary interruption of the negotiations. Poland interrupted its negotiations for the second time, despite the fact that they were offered better conditions than Bulgaria. We did very much to bring the positions closer to each other. However, the creditors did not do anything. We shall not continue in this manner. We shall see whether the other side will show good will. We do not have the right to betray Bulgaria's interests. I hope that our partners recall the Roman proverb: It is better to divide a little than to lose everything. [passage omitted]

[Petrini] Mr. Prime Minister, during your visit to Macedonia you did not sign the agreement on giving Macedonia a credit of $20 million. Upon your return you said that the cabinet will soon discuss the issue. However, the public received no information as to the developments around this issue. Has the decision on not giving the credit been influenced by a stagnation or even a return to the past in relations between the two states?

[Berov] No, there is no stagnation. This has nothing to do with giving Macedonia a commodity credit. Minister Neev negotiated on this credit without first having a cabinet decision on this matter. The prime minister can commit the cabinet to conducting such negotiations without a decision by the government. Furthermore, when giving a credit is involved, there must be a decision by the parliament. Therefore, I did not sign that agreement. It only was initialed. This was done by Minister Neev. Everything was formed as a commodity credit, and each bank, if it wants, could give Macedonia a credit. As you see, this is not a matter of cooling off relations with Macedonia. A parliamentary delegation will soon visit Skopje. [passage omitted]

General Warns Against Internal Confrontation

AU1208132493 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 9 Aug 93 p 9

[Interview with Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, adviser to the president on national security issues, by Ognyan Stefanov; place and date not given: "Great Danger for Country Comes From Internal Confrontation"]

[Excerpts] [Stefanov] General, recently the media have repeatedly reported that you are resigning. Do you intend to resign?

[Andreev] I have learned from the media that someone somewhere is discussing my resignation. I have repeatedly said that this is a matter that can be discussed and decided only by the president. The status of presidential adviser is such that he is the personal employee of the president, and only the president can appoint or fire me. He is the only person that can assess my work, and not the Presidency, as some people have recently dishonestly claimed. There is no institution of the "Presidency," and this is clearly reflected in the Constitution. The only institution mentioned is the "president." I have received no critical remarks from Dr. Zhelev. Furthermore, reaction to my work has been positive. The fact that certain circles so insistently comment on my resignation shows they want it very much. However, this does not surprise me, because I know I am not convenient to certain political forces.

[Stefanov] What forces do you mean?

[Andreev] Those are pseudodemocrats who until last year did not know the meaning of the concepts of democracy and national security. Whenever those people heard the word NATO they went dizzy and ran for cover—that is how much RABOTNICHESKO DELO's editorial articles scared them.

Those are the boys who seek scandals by all means, regardless of who orders them and the cost. [passage omitted]

[Stefanov] It has become known that you and Academician Blagovest Sendov have worked out a draft national security doctrine. When will it be published?

[Andreev] We began with a national security concept. Afterward we progressed to a doctrine. The third stage will be the adoption of the Law on the Defense and the Armed Forces. This is how it is done in the civilized world. Many times when our delegations meet foreign delegations we hear the same: What you say about national security and the reforms in the Army is very nice, but let us see the related documents. We do not have such documents. Therefore, we decided with Academician Sendov to work out a draft doctrine. [passage omitted]

[Stefanov] How are things at the General Staff?

[Andreev] We have no problems with Army General Petrov. He is one of the chief movers, thus things are clear to him. It must be remembered that two years ago the person who was head of the General Staff at that period, created problems for him because of his participation in our team. We have no conflicts with the leaderships of the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. Prior to beginning to work out the doctrine we studied the experience of 17 countries. I think that this is the guarantee of our success.

[Stefanov] What else would you like to say, which for various reasons you have not said until now?

[Andreev] I would like to warn that delaying the Law on the Defense and the Armed Forces could have fatal consequences. If it is not adopted by September or October the state leadership will be subjected to tremendous pressure. The Army circles are losing faith. The people there do not believe that there is a state leadership that holds the country's defense in high esteem. I claim this in a most categorical manner. The greatest danger for our country comes from the internal confrontation, which certain forces exacerbate to the degree of a clash. Microstructures are being polarized. Even if we have billions and the latest equipment, we shall not succeed if the separate elements are not unified. I have information that certain high-ranking officials from the defense system have succumbed to the confrontation I mentioned. Thus the units under them will be polarized even more easily. This does not bode well for Bulgaria.

Trenchev Issues Statement on Property Division

AU1108093893 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 6 Aug 93 p 1

[Statement by Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and vice president of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions: "On Dividing Trade Union Property"]

[Text] 1. What are the reasons for blocking the work of the Commission on Dividing Property?

a) The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB]—because the commission has been working since 13 April, while the KNSB submitted the documents on its property only on 13 July.

b) Filip Dimitrov's cabinet—because it did not implement the law. The property, as well as the document remained in the hands of the KNSB.

c) The property, skillfully transferred by the KNSB to the "Sofis" Printing House, continues to render profits to those engaged in laundering money, while not a single penny has been transferred to any social funds.

d) Despite the decisions of the Supreme Court and the Council of Ministers, no liquidator of the "Sofis" Company, which was supposed to be disbanded, has been appointed.

2. The demands of the KNSB to legally assume ownership by the end of the month actually are attempts to hide its property and the millions it renders.

The Podkrepa Labor Confederation adheres to efficiently continuing the work of the commission until the documents, the physical state of the property, and the contracts on the real estate and movable property are fully clarified. We demand that the Council of Ministers order the oblast administrators to implement the law and begin the appropriation of the property of the Bulgarian Trade Unions (KNSB).

Military Adviser Discusses Defense Law Draft

AU1208151693 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 7 Aug 93

[Interview with General Stefan Dimitrov, "chief of the president's Military Office," by Lyubomir Denov; place and date not given: "General St. Dimitrov: Political Interests Delay Defense Law"]

[Text] [Denov] Many newspapers almost claim that after Mutafchiev, Chervenkov, Topalov, and Lyutskanov you must be the next general that should go.

[Dimitrov] Indeed, I heard several times that I should be the next general to go. I am not concerned. I will not hide from you that I received telephone hints to this effect. However, this does not influence my work, and I shall continue to implement my duties until Dr. Zhelev tells me that he does not need my services any longer.

[Denov] Today the issue is who is to command the National Intelligence Service and the National Protection Service. Is it true that the attempt to combine the leadership of those organs would almost be an attempt to imitate the Third Reich and Saddam Husayn?

[Dimitrov] Spreading such rumors is an insinuation that pursues a specific goal. I think that the answer to the question who should lead the special services must not be sought in the draft Law on Defense. Actually this is one of the reasons for delaying the adoption of that law for three years already. There will be a separate law on the intelligence and other services, and I think that it should precisely point out who will lead them and who should utilize them.

[Denov] The experience of what democratic country in leading the special services do you think could be used in Bulgaria?

[Dimitrov] The French experience. However, I do not want to comment, because the transfer of this model to Bulgaria was strongly politicized.

[Denov] What do you think is the goal of those accusations?

[Dimitrov] They aim at creating a negative attitude on the part of the special services toward the Military Office and myself. This is so because those who stand behind National Assembly member Miroslav Durmov use the method of negatively influencing the public toward a certain general, and inventing accomplices and compromising scripts. Then they leak the material to certain newspapers, a commotion is created, and finally a demand is issued to dismiss the marked victim.

[Denov] What else, in addition to issue of the special services' leadership, delays the Law on Defense?

[Dimitrov] I think that the [illegible] is being delayed mainly because many politicians [illegible]not or do not want to see the Army as a national institution in which no political interests should be inserted. If they all relinquish this idea and understand that the Army must only defend the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty, rather than having hinter thoughts about coming to power, the law will move much faster.

In addition I am convinced that certain groups deliberately delay the legislation in order to create an intermediate situation which produces conditions of anarchy, abuse, amassing profits, and political dividends.

[Denov] Perhaps there also are military among those who succeeded in amassing profits?

[Dimitrov] Unfortunately, people in uniform also stick their hand in the country's pockets. If the state commission confirms a case that is being investigated now, it will become clear that a person in a general's uniform also embezzled public funds. However, it is only the Military Prosecutor's Office that could say whether a crime was committed. It still has not actively interfered in this case. Perhaps it does not have enough information or does not demonstrate a sufficient activity in this area.

[Denov] General, some politicians attacked the president's Military Office immediately after it was created. They hinted that if Dr. Zhelev forms such a structure he is thinking about establishing a military dictatorship.

[Dimitrov] The establishment of our office evoked a stormy reaction on the part of Dimitur Ludzhev, who was then minister of defense. Later we became inconvenient to other people also. However, we do not strive to please everyone, but to work so that the president would have at any given moment objective and reliable information about the state of the Armed Forces. As you know, according to the Constitution he is the commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

[Denov] How many people work in the office?

[Dimitrov] All in all four. Myself, as chief, and three advisers for the three branches.

[Denov] Despite the fact that you are professional military you are members of a power organ that participates in politics one way or another.

[Dimitrov] Precisely because of this we strive to avoid any contact with the politicians. For example, we do not participate in meetings at which political issues are discussed. If we are invited, we do not express any opinions.

[Denov] What is the most serious problem in the office's work until now?

[Dimitrov] The blows below the belt on the part of certain political forces, directed against the president through the Military Office. Apparently, certain political forces are afraid to directly attack President Zhelev, therefore they attack us.

[Denov] Recently the people talk about your amendments to the draft Law on Defense, which were not supported by the government's higher circles. Is it true that you proposed that the chief of the General Staff should not command the Bulgarian Army?

[Dimitrov] This and other unfounded accusations were directed against me on the basis of an operational opinion, signed by me. Everything comes from a careless reading of the law's variants, or from unwillingness to see the truth. I am not against the chief of the General Staff commanding the Army, but against the insertion of two texts to this effect in the draft law. One document is sufficient for this matter.

[Denov] You have been accused of opposing the existence of the Intelligence Directorate of the Defense Ministry and the Army Security Service.

[Dimitrov] On the contrary. I think that those structures are necessary. They simply do not have to be spelled out in a democratic law. I think that they should be viewed as a part of the "units, detachments, and services at the central command of the Ministry of Defense" category.

[Denov] It has often been said that the presidential advisers are the president's main trouble.

[Dimitrov] On the contrary. The advisers are his power. It is also very important that Dr. Zhelev has no favorites among his advisers, but seeks the opinions of all and only then adopts decisions.

[Denov] Both decrees—on discharging Ground Troops Commander General Lyutskanov, and on his retirement were delayed by about 40 days. There was a rumor that the reason was in the close relations between the president and Gen. Lyutskanov. The people also say that Gen. Lyutskanov was Dr. Zhelev's secret adviser when he was the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

[Dimitrov] You should ask the president about both rumors.

[Denov] General, most of the noise evoked by the Law on Defense draft known as the "Staliyski" draft, was a result of the fact that it had no provision about not using the Army for internal political goals. You were in the kitchen where this draft was worked out. Why was there no such provision?

[Dimitrov] There really was no such text in the first variant of the draft. However, at the insistence of the General staff and other instances such a provision was added later. This also was the proposal of the president's Military Office. Later on the former deputy prime minister, Luchnikov, added the article about the Armed Forces Inspectorate.

However, the fact that the Military Office worked on the "Staliyski" draft does not allow anyone to see us as a part of the political entourage of former Defense Minister Staliyski. Prior to it we helped in the same manner the team of former Minister Ludzhev, and today we help V. Aleksandrov's people.

[Denov] However, one year ago there was a report in the press, according to which Deputy Defense Minister Nikola Daskalov was almost the sole author of the "Staliyski" draft. Now it appears that a solid group of military experts was behind the draft.

[Dimitrov] Yes, this is so. Initially, the draft was worked out at the Ministry of Defense under the leadership of Deputy Minister Daskalov. However, people from Armed Forces branches and the General Staff took part in the work.

During the discussion at the Council of Ministers the chief of the General Staff raised some objections and so did I. As a result it was decided that the draft should be completed by a group of experts.

Emergence of New Political Formations Viewed

AU1108094293 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 7-8 Aug 93 p 6

[Commentary by Georgi Borisov: "To Right of Center"]

[Text] God willing, in about a month there will be a new coalition on the political scene—the so-called Liberal-Conservative Union. After futile efforts on the part of various parties to create a more serious union between the two extremities of the political spectrum, which continued for two years, this time it appears that both the politicians and the circumstances are ready for this.

If the contours of a social-democratic coalition around the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party emerged to the left of the political center, the new formation to the right of the center, namely the Liberal-Conservative Union, will comprise P. Simeonov's Liberals, St. Nikolov's New Bulgaria Party, and Prof. N. Genchev's Constitutional Forum and the associated student clubs. If successful, this core consisting of the liberal intelligentsia and the representatives of the new business, will attract additional formations, which are gravitating around its ideas.

The leadership of each of the aforementioned parties already approved the decision to form the union. Now they need time so that their structures can coordinate the program documents of their future cooperation. One should not be surprised if the summer appears to be a favorable season for the liberal-conservative idea.

Trade Union Confederations Criticize Government

AU1108181893 Sofia BTA in English 1627 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Report by Andrey Sharkov]

[Text] Sofia, August 11 (BTA)—The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) will renounce its support for the cabinet if the latter does not proceed with reversion of the trade union property and its distribution among the legitimate organizations as promised by September 1, Prof. Krustyu Petkov, president of the KNSB, told a briefing today. Two weeks ago his trade union amalgamation addressed a letter to the Council of Ministers setting the time by which the procedure should be opened for granting the local trade union organizations possession of their own buildings and real estate. The country's economy is heading from chaos to total collapse, and should the KNSB support be renounced, the government would not be able to interact with the political and parliamentary forces in a democratic way, the trade union leader said. Filip Dimitrov's cabinet ignored last year's memorandum of the trade union amalgamation, and two months later it had to step down, he said.

On January 7, 1992 the Council of Ministers issued a decree establishing a procedure to be followed in allocating the property of totalitarian parties and organizations, seized under an act adopted in 1991, to other organizations and persons. An ad hoc commission, set up with the Council of Ministers, is in charge of the distribution and gratuitous allocation of the property confiscated from the former state-controlled Bulgarian Trade Unions to the legitimate trade union organizations existing now, thus enabling them to perform their functions. On October 26, 1992 the Podkrepa Labour Confederation (Podkrepa) and the KNSB, the two largest trade union amalgamations in this country, reached an agreement on the distribution of trade union property and the criteria it should be based on. According to Prof. Petkov, formally the problem has been resolved in six regions out of a total of nine in the country—the trade union organizations and the local government authorities distributed the property there. In his view, now the sole obstacle to finalizing the process is the sluggish procedure applied by the Council of Ministers' commission on trade union property. According to the KNSB, this is an attempt to stifle or make the independent trade union financially dependent. Addressing a letter to Prime Minister Prof. Lyuben Berov on August 4, Prof. Krustyu Petkov qualified similar attempts as an entirely wrong and extremely dangerous step.

Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of Podkrepa and vice president of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, accused the KNSB of blocking the work of the commission on trade union property by being late with the presentation of its proof of ownership. This was done in a statement circulated on August 6. Dr. Trenchev insists that the commission continue its work and that the government instruct the regional governors to immediately proceed with confiscation of the property of the Bulgarian Trade Unions existing at the time of Todor Zhivkov's regime, later succeeded by the KNSB. Dr. Trenchev is misleading the public, the news that the vice president of the largest international trade union demands the confiscation of trade union property in a policeman-like peremptory tone will certainly drop as a bombshell at its headquarters in Brussels, the TRUD paper, which is close to the KNSB, wrote, commenting on Dr. Trenchev's statement. At today's briefing, Prof. Petkov denied some other accusations made against the KNSB by Dr. Trenchev.

Podkrepa is dissatisfied with the inadequate performance of the government's representatives at the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation (comprising representatives of the cabinet, employers and trade unions) which hampers the making of responsible and lasting decisions in the spirit of the principles of social dialogue, Podkrepa states in today's letter to the Council of Ministers and the participants in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation, a copy of which was received at BTA. If the government does not take any action to raise the prestige and the role of the social dialogue institutionalized within the framework of the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation, Podkrepa will reconsider its constructive position of active support for the form of social partnership in Bulgaria.

National Bank Rejects Inflation as Cure for Debt

AU1108190393 Sofia BTA in English 1814 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 11 (BTA)—The Bulgarian National Bank (BNB) categorically rejects the idea of resolving the bad debts problem through inflation. By no means will the BNB accept such a solution, BNB Governor Prof. Todor Vulchev stressed at a press conference today. In his opinion, inflation can help resolve the problem, but this would be an absolute catastrophe for the country.

The bad debts problem was discussed at today's meeting at the BNB which was attended by representatives of the commercial banks burdened by more than 90 percent of all bad debts—the Economic Bank, Mineralbank, Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, United Bulgarian Bank, and some others—and by representatives of the Bulgarian Industrial Association and the Council of Ministers. The problem is a key one because the question is about at least 75,000 million leva, Prof. Vulchev said.

The participants considered three projects for the settlement of the bad debts problem: one proposed by Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev, another one—by the Ministry of Finance, and the third one—by a working group of the Civil Alliance for the Republic headed by Aleksandur Tomov.

The projects have one thing in common: It is proposed to exchange the principals of bad loans granted by 1990 for government bonds. Unlike the principals of the bad loans, the interest due to the banks will not be taken over by the public purse. Under the projects, the debtors will remain indebted to the state, but no interest will be charged on the principals and no time limit will be set for their payment—repayment can be arranged for when the indebted enterprise is privatized or liquidated, or in some other way determined by the state. It is envisaged to make the bonds negotiable and usable in privatization.

It was the participants' shared opinion that the settlement of the bad debts problem had been much belated. The previous cabinets made the mistake by delaying its solution so long, the bankers said. The incumbent government has shown some good will to resolve the problem, but if the settlement of the issue is postponed again, most probably some members of parliament, including the banks' lobby, will introduce the issue before the Bulgarian Parliament over the head of the cabinet, MP Aleksandur Tomov, who authored one of the projects, said during the discussion. In his opinion, the issue should be finally settled by a legislative act.

The banks set out their demands, one of the most important being that they be allowed to decide which of the bad debts should be replaced by government bonds and which should be repaid. Besides, the banks want to take part in privatization through the government bonds and to make debt-for-equity swaps. However, Prof. Vulchev expressed his fear that if things were carried too far, the creditor banks would start privatizing indebted enterprises, carrying out uncontrollable privatization "in the dark."

The BNB will discuss the problem with the minister of finance and the government in the immediate future and will familiarize them with the stands of the parties concerned. The decision will have to be by the government, but as any further delay is dangerous, the BNB insists on resolving the problem now, Prof. Vulchev said in conclusion.

Defense Engineers Form Union To Protect Industry

AU1208174093 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Aug 93 p 2

[Report by Stefan Severin from Plovdiv: "The United States Is Building Nine Weapons Plants in Macedonia"]

[Text] While we Bulgarians are deliberately ruining our military production, in Macedonia nine plants connected with the arms industry have been constructed with the help of U.S. capital—this was announced by Docent Slavyan Saparev, chairman of the Union of Defense Industry Engineers [Suyuz na inzhenerite ot otbranitelnata promishlenost], which was established in Plovdiv on 6 August. Saparev added that hostels and teaching establishments for training specialists were being constructed near the plants. In the course of a single year, the United States has increased its arms trade by 10 percent, while the onslaught on our own arms business may rudely be described as a state policy of dropping its pants, Saparev, who is deacon of the Faculty of Special Training at the Plovdiv Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, declared. According to him, our military production has been blocked in all directions. The Electronic Equipment Plant in Plovdiv alone has had products worth $26 million destined for the former Soviet Army stockpiled at the plant for two years now.

Saparev said that the best engineers are employed in arms production, but owing to the lamentable state of the industry they are steadily leaving to join private businesses. If we continue like this, not a single competent specialist will remain, the founders of the union believe. For example, two factories of the Arsenal Company in Kazanluk now have only one engineer each. The newly established union will fight to defend its members' professional interests and to create conditions for these interests to be realized. The initiative for forming the union comes from lecturers at the Faculty of Special Training, and almost 1,000 specialists joined the union at the outset. The union accepts as members not only engineers but also all other specialists who are connected with military production in some way. It will organize courses, seminars, and symposiums for improving qualifications, will provide scientific literature, and will form groups of experts to formulate views and draft reports on the development and adoption of new products. An attempt to form a similar union was made two years ago.

Slavyan Saparev says that 30 percent of the arms factories will be shut down, which he considers normal; in his view, the industry that is left will be more flexible and will employ the best specialists. According to him, what is being done at the moment is not conversion, but a mere mockery. Entire specialist workshops are standing idle in Sopot, while their female employees sew shirts and jackets. Saparev recognizes that arms factories should engage in civilian production, but they should make high-tech products, not trainers. At the moment there is a severe shortage of specialists in ammunition manufacture; 50 people could be taken on immediately, but they simply are not there. Saparev says that every year his faculty accepts 30 fewer students. He claims that people who have no connection with the arms industry have been dictating the policy of the Faculty of Special Training. The union's founders believe that defense industry engineers will have a far greater role to play under the new conditions, which involve a flexible mix of military and civilian production.

Only One-Third of Fields Irrigated

AU1108140893 Sofia BTA in English 1137 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 11 (BTA)—Of 300,000 hectares needing irrigation, 56,000 have been irrigated only once and merely 42,000 two or three times, for which 150 million cubic metres of water have been used, according to data of the Irrigation and Land Reclamation Systems Co. with the Agriculture Ministry. The company manages 200 dams and 900 pump storage power stations nationwide.

Bulgaria has facilities for the irrigation of 1.2 million hectares of land. The government has built installations for watering 0.9 million hectares and former cooperative farms the remaining facilities.

In spite of this year's drought, which caused the soil to crack at some places, few farmers can afford to water vegetable gardens and melon fields. While maize, tobacco, vegetable and sunflower harvests are expected to go down, only one-third of the arable land has been irrigated. This is not due to water shortages. Except in the Pazardzhik and Plovdiv regions (southern Bulgaria), there is enough water for irrigation this season, as many farmers have given up irrigation on account of high water prices, says Irrigation and Land Reclamation Systems. According to farmers, expensive water makes crop production unprofitable. At the same time, some farmers sign irrigation contracts, yet do get no water, as it is not efficient to operate the systems for irrigating small plots. The company will compensate farmers for failing to fulfill the contracts, but this will not save the ruined harvest.

The low efficiency of the irrigation and land reclamation system is due to a lack of interest by the liquidation councils (which run cooperative farms), by some agricultural cooperatives and private farmers, Miroslav Dyakov, head of the Water Distribution Department, believes. The price of one cubic metre of water is 0.4 to 1.4 leva, while its cost is considerably higher, reaching 3 leva per cubic metre at some places, Mr. Dyakov says, motivating the high water price.

Most of the irrigation equipment is fit for use, Mr. Dyakov says. There are problems with the canal network and the pump storage stations, managed by the liquidation councils—some 65 percent of them are in bad repair. Large amounts of water are being stolen from the canals, irrigation systems in wide tracts of land are falling apart. The reason is that land owners refuse to take back irrigable land, as they have to pay for the improvements. Mr. Dyakov sees a way out in handing the internal canal network over to Irrigation and Land Reclamation Systems, which would manage it and, when land restitution is completed and water-use coops set up, give it to farmers free or at a negligible price.

Klaus Views Role of Security Services in Society

AU1208095293 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 7 Aug 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: "Secret Services Must Find Their Own Place"]

[Text] In view of affairs regarding the secret and security services, affairs that are constantly stirred up, we asked Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who is also the coordinator of the secret services, several questions.

[Krejci] Sir, why, in your opinion, is there so much time devoted in some media to various [former] State Security members, people who evidently cannot be trusted?

[Klaus] I have the feeling that the reason is the conviction that the role of the mass media is to sound the alarm, make people uneasy, and constantly bring the situation to a head. This is an erroneous idea, in my opinion.

In the Denik Plus program on Thursday [5 August], before my address, there was a commentary by a correspondent, in which he said that reporters should, through their speculations, arouse the activity of politicians. I responded by saying that, in my opinion, this was not true. I am of the opinion that corresponents should provide information, based on as-reliable-as-possible sources, analyze this information, and comment on it. However, I cannot accept the statement, which was so unhappily formulated, that corresponents should keep the politicians on their toes no matter what the cost.

[Krejci] However, is there nothing disquieting about the fact that the public is receiving various information and learns about the contents of files that should remain classified?

[Klaus] This is disquieting, of course. However, I am succumbing to no illusions, and am convinced that, within the several stages in which people were replaced in security services—and when several groups of people left—many of them could have taken documents with them, and they can decide, any time, to use them; for instance, information gathered by the former State Security under the pre-November regime. It is true, unfortunately, but it has happened, and nothing any Security and Information Service chief does will help since this information is gone.

[Krejci] They say that you are not very interested in the secret services.

[Klaus] I am not a man who would ever have ambitions to become chief of the secret services. I have accepted the role of coordinator as a way out of this situation, and I really see my role as just coordinating these services. This is why I present proposals on how to reduce those bodies, how to give them better management, how to delimit the jurisdiction of these services so that they do not infringe one another's territory. This is what I consider to be the task of a coordinator, whose job is not to receive each and every piece of analytical material compiled by the secret service, and conduct time consuming discussions on it. There are other organs designated for this. I do not want to be a man who would specialize in that problem, and I would be very happy if all of you understood my role as coordinator in this sense.

[Krejci] What place should the secret services have in society?

[Klaus] We must distinguish between a final solution in a stable society, and a transition period. This applies to secret services as well as to everything what is going on in our country. It is clear to me that the past regime aroused infinite distrust in the secret services, and that the first idea of the overwhelming majority of us is to abolish these organs for ever. Of course, this is a naive opinion, since every country has secret services. This is why I believe that, as any other institution, they will have to find their place under the sun. However, this cannot be done on the basis of some task, overnight. We must gradually make our way to it. However, I am afraid that there is impatience in that respect, and a conviction that by waving a magic wand the Security and Information Service director would be exchanged and everything would be all right. However, this is not so easy.

[Krejci] Some coalition parties want to discuss this problem, including the final solution regarding the Security and Information Service director.

[Klaus] We are conducting such talks, and I can divulge that I not only have met with Mr. Devaty regarding this matter, but also with the Civic Democratic Alliance chairman, Mr. Jan Kalvoda. We are seeking the most reasonable solution.

[Krejci] Will the Civic Democratic Party support Mr. Devaty as the permanent director of the Security and Information Service?

[Klaus] A trivial personnel change is not a solution, and this is why I really believe that the director issue is really a secondary question.

Rejects Calls for Devaluation of Koruna

AU1208152493 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Aug p 1

[Report by "(maw)": "V. Klaus Rejects Devaluation of Koruna"]

[Text] Prague—The devaluation of the Czech koruna is "out of the question," according to Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. He described pressures on devaluation as efforts by exporters to gain advantages from the state. The call for devaluation is one of the steps "the exporters try when they fail to acquire tax reliefs or subsidies." "Exporters would be happy if they did not have to bother about costs and labor productivity, and if the state gave them a simple gift in the form of devaluation," he added. According to Prime Minister Klaus, some enterprises hope that the ideal situation of the beginning of 1991 could return, when the exporters had relatively high profits due to devaluation. V. Klaus described the Skoda Mlada Boleslav company—whose press spokesman mentioned in recent days the "bad" exchange rate of the koruna—as one of the companies that "acquired bad habits and it is difficult for them to get used to something else." V. Klaus drew attention to the fact that in 1990, the rough calculation of the koruna's exchange rate showed that this rate was 2.9 times smaller than would correspond to the koruna's buying power, and this figure has declined to 2.2 today. "We still have plenty of space to keep today's exchange rate," the prime minister concluded.

Government Approves Amendment to Citizenship Law

LD1108202893 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Report by correspondent Jakub Kienl]

[Text] [Kienl] The government discussed the draft law on arms trade. Organizations involved in arms trade will be issued a license by the Ministry of Industry and Trade after an agreement with the Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Interior Ministries.

The law on acquiring and losing the citizenship of the Czech Republic has been simplified today. The change only concerns the citizens of Slovakia with [permanent] residence on the territory of our state. According to information from government spokesperson Klara Pospisilova, persons over the age of 60 will receive citizenship automatically, and those who had at least one parent who was a Czech or a Czech Republic citizen, will not have to wait five years [to gain citizenship].

The government has also decided to release 15 million korunas to build a prison in one of the premises in the former military training grounds Mlada [northern Bohemia]. After an agreement with the Defense Ministry, some vacated barracks will be used as prisons as well.

Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus told correspondents that the project of the reconstruction of Ruzyne airport [in Prague] had been approved [by the government] today. The reconstruction and modernization should begin at the beginning of next year, and will take a record 36 months.

Klaus: No Objection to Agricultural Market Protection

AU1208163393 Prague CTK in English 1938 GMT 10 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 10 (CTK)—The government does not object to the protection of the Czech market in agricultural commodities, with only a few minor exceptions, Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists after today's ministerial meeting which dealt with agriculture.

He added that imported agriculture products made up 1.5-2 percent of the domestic market for these products.

The low figure is due to the fact that Czech customs tariffs are about 8-12 percent higher than in other countries, Klaus said.

He pointed out that a law must be passed quickly to protect trade-political interests. It should help promptly solve emergency dumping situations, such as imports of sensitive commodities like apples of which there are ample domestic stocks, Klaus said.

KDU-CSL's Lux Comments on Security Post

AU1208133093 Prague CTK in English 1658 GMT 10 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 10 (CTK)—Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), has no essential reservation about Stanislav Devaty, provisional director of the Security Information Service (BIS), but his party is pressing for a permanent director of the secret service.

Lux said that the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) has a certain claim to the post of the BIS definitive director, arising from the government coalition's agreement.

The coalition comprises the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the KDU-CSL, the ODA and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS).

Devaty has been BIS provisional director since December 19, 1992. BIS was created in late 1992 as the Federal Security Information Service (FBIS) [FIS] was abolished in connection with the split of the Czechoslovak Federation as of January 1, 1993.

The filling of the post of BIS director has been the target of protracted negotiations within the government coalition.

We have stressed several times the necessity to discuss the situation in the service and we are striving for the appointment of (its) definitive director, Lux pointed out.

He believes that the government should be provided with more comprehensive information on BIS's activity.

Party Officials Air Views on BIS Activity

AU1208163093 Prague CTK in English 2035 GMT 10 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 10 (CTK)—Asked if the coalition parties would meet to discuss Security and Information Service (BIS) activity, Executive Deputy Chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Petr Cermak said that there would be a meeting if all the coalition parties wanted it, but that the ODS would not be initiating it.

We do not wish to politicise the matter, he said. He explained that the ODS was waiting for a statement from the BIS' Inspectorate and from parliament's Defence and Security Committee, and added that the ODS did not consider it suitable and necessary that the director of the BIS be changed at present. (Stanislav Devaty, temporary director of the BIS and previously deputy director of the federal FBIS [Federal Security and Information Service—FIS], has denied allegations that the FBIS commissioned files of compromising information on political leaders to be kept—Ed.)

Deputy Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) Jan Kasal said, however, that somehow or other we have to start a discussion about the post of BIS director. The sooner the question is dealt with, the better, and emphasised that the filling of the post had to be the subject of agreement by the coalition.

He said the KDU-CSL had nothing in principle against the present director, but that it would not prevent discussion of further candidates. We cannot ignore the wishes of the ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance], Kasal said. Explaining this remark, he said he believed that after the birth of the Czech Republic, the balance in the number of state functions filled had gone against the ODA.

Marek Benda, chairman of the deputies' group of the Christian Democratic Party, said he personally believed that a coalition meeting should take place, after thorough preliminary discussion. He said that the meeting should discuss not only the BIS question, but security in general.

Chairman of the ODA and Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda told the Czech daily RUDE PRAVO yesterday that it thought a meeting should take place, and this was confirmed today by the party's press spokeswoman. However, she added that it was not known that Jan Kalvoda was intending to initiate such a meeting.

* * *

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said in an interview for Czech Radio today that the Wallis affair had helped unite the governing coalition parties, which had realised that attacks on them were not aimed at individual parties, but at the coalition as a whole.

I think it has made us realise that there is much more which unites us than divides us, Klaus said, although he added that this opinion came only from talking to the heads of the coalition parties. I cannot say that the coalition would meet and pronounce itself united, he said.

'Quarrel' in New Democratic Left Party Reported

AU1208173993 Prague CTK in English 1709 GMT 10 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 10 (CTK)—A quarrel over the organisational form of the new Democratic Left Party (SDL) has broken out between two of its leaders, says the left-leaning RUDE PRAVO paper today.

Lotar Indruch, chairman of the SDL, and its Bohemia region chairman, Josef Mecl, are at odds over the formation of regional sections of the SDL, said the paper. Indruch said they must be created from below—by members rather than by the political leadership. This indicates that he considered both the Bohemian and Moravian-Silesian sections to be the result of improper interpretation of minutes of the National Committee meeting.

Mecl's group of reformers broke away from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) in June and reached an agreement with the Democratic Left (DL), led by Indruch, to create the SDL. Mecl said in the paper that the political and legal existence of primary and district chapters and larger regional committees has been secured, and acknowledged by the National Committee.

Mecl also said the arguments are simply over terminology and are misleading, as a coming national caucus will decide the matter.

National Bank Deputy Governor on Slovakia's Debt

AU1208104093 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Aug 93 p 8

[Interview with National Bank Deputy Governor Jan Vit by Petr Korbel; place and date not given: "The Super Zero Option Cannot Be Ruled Out"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Korbel] Slovakia's debt to the Czech Republic has increased with the passing of time.

[Vit] [passage omitted] Two accounting centers, one in Prague and one in Bratislava, started operating within the Czechoslovak State Bank in February 1992. That is, there was an internal separation for most of 1992, and Slovakia's overall debt to the Czech Republic was gradually reflected in the Slovak clearing center's increasing liabilities. Slovakia's debt now stands at 24.7 billion korunas. Some 22 billion were incurred before the end of 1992, and the rest is the debt from the operations carried out this year before currency separation. Czech banks, because of the 2:1 ratio [used in dividing federal property], had more money deposited in the central bank than Slovak banks. On the other hand, banks in Slovakia drew higher credits from the central bank than would correspond to this ratio. There was also a similar imbalance regarding relations between the central bank and the republics' state budgets. [passage omitted]

[Korbel] Do you think the debt is economically well-founded?

[Vit] We also conducted purely economic analyses because the Slovak side has the right to be absolutely certain that everything is in order and that actual economic development corresponds to the bookkeeping record. In principle, one can say that the 2:1 ratio is a little political. It was a ratio agreed upon according to the size of the population and the size of the republics; however, as far as the national income was concerned, the ratio was more like 70:30. More assets were generated in the Czech Republic, and relatively greater use was made of them in Slovakia within the single market. This is apparent, for instance, from the level of savings. The debt really has nothing to do with politics or guile in bookkeeping; it is an economic fact.

[Korbel] Is the reason for the Slovak point of view not simply the fact that the republic cannot afford to pay its debt?

[Vit] We realize it is not within the powers of the Slovak economy to pay it back all at once. It was agreed that the Czech Republic would grant the National Bank of Slovakia a 10-year loan.

[Korbel] How would it be repaid?

[Vit] If we have clearing payment relations, the debt would be repaid in clearing ECUs [European Currency Unit]. If we do not have them, it would be repaid in free ECUs. The Czechoslovak koruna's exchange rate on the day of currency separation would be taken as the basis. The interest would be similar to that normally provided for a 10-year loan in ECUs.

[Korbel] When do you think an agreement could be reached?

[Vit] This is not only an economic problem, it is also a political problem. There is no doubt about the accounting; the Slovak side merely maintains that it wants to satisfy itself of this—of course, it has already been doing so for a very long time. It is not yet clear for how long it will want to continue satisfying itself. I would consider it to be a success if we can conclude this matter in principle before the end of the year.

[Korbel] What will happen if no agreement is reached?

[Vit] The well-known super zero option would then be taken into consideration. Slovak outstanding claims from former federal property whose division has not yet been settled would be used to cover part of this debt. First and foremost, this means the Slovak share in the federal National Property Fund and its share in the federal material reserves. This would reduce the debt to approximately 18 billion korunas. If no solution were found, the Czech National Bank would have to write this debt off and make up for it from our profit. As we divert our profit to the state, the state budget would be deprived of funds and every citizen would have to pay this written-off debt. However, I consider this to be an extreme option.

HSDMS Calls For Change in Monetary Policy

AU1108142193 Prague CTK in English 1523 GMT 9 Aug 93

[Text] Brno August 9 (CTK)—A 12-member commission of the Self-Governing Democracy Movement for Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS) have called on the Czech Government to speed up its reaction to recent changes in the European Monetary System and abandon the present practice of fixing the price of the crown in relation to the prices of the American dollar and German mark.

The HSDMS commission, which is made up of directors of Moravian firms and independent economic experts, believe that the government should keep the value of the crown closer to the values of certain European currencies. The commission believes that fixing the rate of the crown to the values of currencies like the French franc, Italian lira and Portuguese escudo would better suit the Czech economy.

The president of the HSDMS commission, Jan Krycer, asserted, on one hand having a strong currency is something we can be pleased about, but it is presently overvalued. According to Krycer, last year's inflation rate of only 15 percent shows that the Czech crown is overvalued and he advised devaluing the Czech crown by roughly five to ten percent in order to put it on the right level.

Krycer claimed that over-valuation was making it difficult for Czech products to penetrate western markets and at the same time making it easier for other European countries to export consumer goods to the Czech Republic. He added that Czech producers were therefore getting into a very difficult situation, particularly at a time when transformation and privatisation processes are underway.

The opposition HSDMS has 14 seats in the 200-seat Czech parliament.

Arms Export Figures for First Six Months of 1993

AU1208110093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Aug 93 p 1

[Report by "(km)": "The Czech Republic Has Not Exported Heavy Weapons as of Yet"]

[Text] Prague—It is very likely that, this year, the Czech Republic will export fewer weapons than in preceding years. Bretislav Gregr, director of the Special Material Department of the Licensing Section of the Administration of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said that, in the first six months of this year, the Czech Republic exported military material amounting to $52 million. In his estimate, the overall balance at the end of the year should not exceed the amount of $120 million.

Last year, the Czech Republic's export of arms reached $150 million. This is substantially less than in the pre-November Czechoslovakia. For example, in 1987, the former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic exported weapons for more than 650 million.

Against, last year, the assortment of the exported military material also changed. Bretislav Gregr said that, in

1992, 75 percent of the exports comprised heavy military technology. The final manufacturer of tanks and combat vehicles were Slovak arms factories, in particular. This year, almost 85 percent of exports are Albatros training planes and spare parts for air technology.

Bretislav Gregr also said that, in the first six months of this year, three Czech firms had their, already granted, licenses for the trade in arms withdrawn. "After the licenses had been awarded, we subsequently discovered facts that would discredit the Czech Republic," he said.

In two cases, it has been proven that weapons were to be delivered to the former Yugoslavia. It was a trade in submachine guns, and it was declared that the goods would go to Panama.

"In the third case, when we withdrew the license, state interests were involved," Bretislav Gregr said.

Slight Rise in Unemployment in July Reported

LD1108201293 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 11 (CTK)—At the end of July, there were 148,600 people seeking employment, reports the Czech Statistical Office (CSU), 35,630 of whom were newly registered, and 88,294 of whom were women.

Another 25,577 people had taken themselves off the non-employed list from last month, 18,150 because they had found work.

The number of unoccupied working positions as of the end of July were 72,309. This was a decrease of 1,691 compared to June figures. The CSU also lists 67,455 applicants receiving non-employment payments.

The unemployment rate in the Czech Republic rose from last month's extremely low 2.63 per cent to a still low 2.82 per cent for July.

Regionally, these figures exhibited greater differentiations: Prague's unemployment rate is up a nominal 0.01 per cent to a virtually non-existent 0.25 per cent compared to the five percent rate occurring in North Moravia. North Bohemia's average comes to 3.26 per cent for July and Southern Moravia to 3.1 per cent.

New Figures Show Inflation Still on Increase

LD1108161993 Prague CTK in English 1522 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 11 (CTK)—Information from the Czech Statistical Office (CSU) shows that month-on-month consumer prices increased 0.7 per cent in July of this year. The average monthly rate of increase since the beginning of this year is 1.7 per cent. The biggest jump occurred in January when consumer prices rose 8.5 per cent over December 1992 prices partly because of the introduction of new taxes.

July consumer prices were 21.9 per cent up compared to July 1992 levels and 130.6 per cent higher than consumer prices measured in January 1989. Prices in shops are now 12.9 per cent higher than they were in December 1992.

According to CSU, the prices of food products rose 0.6 per cent in July 1993 and increased 7.4 per cent from December 1992 and 17 per cent from July 1992. In July 1993 food products cost on average 100 per cent more than they did in January 1989.

The prices of non-food goods crept up by only 0.1 per cent in July but were 20.6 per cent higher than in July 1992. Non-food goods registered a 146.4 per cent increase between January 1989 and July 1993.

Prices at catering establishments experienced a small 0.5 per cent rise in July 1993 and were 18.2 per cent higher than in December 1992, 27.5 per cent higher than in July 1992 and 140.9 per cent higher than in January 1989. Food and non-alcoholic prices at catering establishments belonging in Category III were 115 per cent higher than they were in December last year.

The price of services went up 0.3 per cent in July which means they were 26.4 per cent up on the year before and 140.5 per cent higher than in January 1989.

Indices Show Drop in Industrial Production

LD1208185593 Prague CTK in English 1548 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 12 (CTK)—Overall industrial production in the Czech Republic, including small organisations and physical persons, experienced a 4.5 per cent decrease from January to May 1993 compared to the same period last year, according to the latest data of the Czech Statistical Office.

Organisations with 25 workers or more showed a 6.5 per cent production drop while small companies and physical persons in the same period increased their production by more than one-fifth. As these small producers constitute only less than 10 per cent of overall industrial production, their favourable development has influenced the mid-year index by only two points. The private sector's share in Czech industrial production is less than 17 per cent.

In view of individual industrial spheres, only production of leather and bags rose (by more than four per cent) as did the production of rubber and plastic items by slightly less. In contrast, mining for materials not used for energy production dropped, as did the paper and printing industries, publishing, the production of machines and apparatuses, electrical and optical instruments.

The average number of industrial workers was over 1.7 million in the surveyed period, according to estimates. Compared to the same period last year, it was 5.4 per cent lower. Statistics also showed that smaller companies (from 25 to 99 workers) have increased their workforce by almost one quarter, while big companies with more than 1,000 workers have experienced an almost 12 per cent decrease.

The influx of workers to the private sector continues (25 per cent), as well as to international organisations (11.3 per cent). In contrast, state and cooperative sectors have experienced an approximately ten-per cent decline.

Industrial Consumption of Electrical Energy Falls

LD1208215193 Prague CTK in English 1945 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 12 (CTK)—The decrease in consumption of electrical energy which started in the Czech Republic in 1990 continued last year, according to recent data from the Czech Statistical Office.

The country's energy producers generated 56,095 gwh [giga watt hours] in 1992 which was by 3.3 per cent less than in 1991.

Thermal power plants had a 76.5 per cent share in overall energy production which meant a 1.4 point decrease over the previous year. The only currently operating nuclear power plant in Dukovany produced 20.7 per cent (0.7 of a point more than in 1991) and water power plants 2.8 per cent (0.7 of a point more than in 1991). In the Czech Republic, energy from hydroeclectric power plants has serves as a subsidiary energy source used in peak periods, as the climate is not very favorable to this kind of energy generation.

Electricity consumption in energy processes fell by 4.9 per cent. Losses in energy distribution represented 6.9 per cent of the overall sources and the inter-year increase was 0.3 of a point.

There was a decrease of 3.2 per cent in total inter-year energy consumption was 3.2 per cent. Consumption in 1992 reached 40,801 billion kwh. The consumed energy represented approximately 13.4 per cent (0.8 of a point more than in 1991) of the overall final consumption of fuels and energy in the Czech Republic.

It represents, similarly to last year, approximately 13.5 per cent of the overall consumption of fuel and energy in industry. Only consumption of electricity in households keeps growing. Last year, it added up to 10,343 gwh which is 4.8 per cent more over the previous year.

Lower demand for electrical energy in 1992 has also manifested itself in a sharp decrease of electricity imports. Almost 4 per cent of electricity produced in the Czech Republic was exported to Slovakia.

Only One-Third of Officers To Remain in Army

AU1208160993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 11 Aug 93 p 2

[Report by "(jem)": "Of the Officers Screened So Far, Only One-Third Are To Remain in the Army"]

[Text] Prague—It is probable that almost two-thirds of the generals and officers from the Army Command who have so far taken part in the screenings will not continue to serve in the Armed Forces. Of the 1,620 career soldiers screened so far, only 618 have successfully passed the Army's extraordinary assessment. Deputy Defense Minister Jiri Pospisil made this statement yesterday.

Officers directly subordinate to the defense minister or who come under his jurisdiction and other officers junior to them have been screened.

Defense Minister Antonin Baudys authorized these extraordinary assessments of career soldiers, the so-called screenings. All generals and officers, 24,568 in number, will gradually be assessed with the exception of those who ask to retire or return to civilian life prior to the screenings.

A commission, which includes an officer senior to the one being screened, assesses the officer's moral character and specialist qualifications. A commanding officer, under whose command the officer being screened serves, appoints the two other members of the commission. This commander also makes a definitive decision on any personnel changes that may arise from the assessment.

According to Pospisil, 2,114 officers and 903 warrant officers have been discharged from the Army since the beginning of the year. Some 132 generals left the Armed Forces between December 1989 and July 1993. A total of 687 career soldiers have been discharged—in June and July—since the start of the screenings. Three of them were generals, 65 were colonels, and 257 were lieutenant colonels.

According to Pospisil, former staff from the National Security Corps III Administration (military counterintelligence), communist functionaries, those who injured other people, notorious alcoholics, and former political staff from the Czechoslovak People's Army will also be discharged.

Statistical Office Releases Economic Data

AU1208161193 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 11 Aug 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Development of the Slovak Economy"]

[Text] An increase in labor productivity had been described by the Statistical Office (SUSR) of the Slovak Republic as one of the positive developments in the Slovak Republic's economy. At present, however, productivity is declining faster than overall output. As SUSR Chairman R. Krc said, this may explain a number of difficulties. According to him, the increase in average wages is in contrast with the decline in labor productivity. As in industry, there was a similar situation in the construction sector, where daily productivity declined as well, wages increased, and overall output declined. In the forest industry, wood production increased. In the first six months, it increased by 8.4 percent against the second half of 1992. Proceeds from wood sales declined by almost 9 percent, however. In agriculture, according to the second estimate of this year's crop complied by the SUSR on 15 July, the SUSR anticipates that the cereal harvest will be 16.5 percent lower than last year, the greatest decline being in the barley yield. It has become apparent that the yield of basic cereals will be 52,000 tonnes lower. R. Krc provided information on the results of recovery [konjunkturalny] research. According to this research, in the third quarter demand for industrial products will stagnate on the domestic market. On the other hand, on foreign markets, including the Czech Republic's market, sales are expected to rise by 15.4 percent. The SUSR chairman drew attention to the fact that this research had been conducted before it was possible to estimate the effect of devaluation. Production capacities are being used to 71 percent in Slovakia on day shifts. Insolvency has hit 74 organizations, and in the third quarter is its expected that for 13.1 percent of enterprises it should decline. A total of 68 percent of enterprises made a profit, and 32 incurred losses. A similar development is expected in the third quarter.

In the first half of the year, 7,009 apartments were completed and approved of by inspectors. Compared with last year, this figure is down by 4,329. The situation in this sector has been in a constant decline since 1990. In the first half of the year, in the communal apartment construction, 1,163 apartments were finished and approved, plus 1,700 condominiums and 4,102 apartments were built as individual units. The number of new housing projects is relatively low. In the first half of 1993, there were 2,170, 20 percent fewer than in the first half of 1992.

Foreign capital invested in companies in the Slovak Republic amounted to 9.2 billion korunas [Sk] by the end of June, the equivalent of $320,400,000. Compared with the first quarter, the volume of foreign investment increased by 20.3 percent. Foreign capital has an interest in 3,948 companies in the Slovak Republic. Austria has retained the top position with 25.8 percent. The Czech Republic is fourth, with 11 percent. The largest volume of foreign capital was concentrated in Bratislava at the end of the first half of the year. (56 percent, in the Poprad district 9.6 percent, in Humenne 8.8 percent, and in Nitra 5.5 percent). The Slovak Republic's balance of trade in the first five months ended in surplus amounting to Sk2.9 billion. Compared with the same period last year, the volume of exports was—without the Czech Republic—9 percent lower while imports increased by 12.5 percent. The Czech Republic's share of the imports was 12.5 percent, states of the former Soviet Union, without Russia, 25.5 percent, Russia 22.5 percent, and Austria 6.6 percent. Slovak exports were directed mainly toward the Czech Republic with 42.8 percent, 14.1 percent to Germany, 9 percent to the former Soviet Union without Russia, 5 percent to Hungary, 4.9 percent to Austria, and 3.4 percent to Italy.

Average Wage Statistics Reported

AU1208193693 Prague CTK in English 1651 GMT 10 Aug 93

[Text] Bratislava August 10 (CTK)—The average Slovak wage is now 5,651 Slovak crowns (190 USD) a month, an increase of 7.2 percent from May, information from the Slovak Statistical Office (SU SR) shows.

Wages in the construction industry have caught up with the average, with an increase of 8.6 percent to 5,669 Slovak crowns (Sk). The retail industry has shown a growth of 5.5 percent, to 4,240 Sk (140 USD).

Productivity has fallen, however, with industrial production amounting to 170 billion Sk (5.7 billion USD), which represents a fall of 18.2 percent compared to the second half of last year. In the construction industry production reached 3.9 billion Sk (130 million USD), a fall of 35.2 percent.

Consumers spent 1.6 percent less in June than in May. In the first five months of 1993 they spent 16.9 percent less than in the same period last year.

Jeszenszky on Policy Toward South Slav Crisis

AU1208094293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Aug 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Bela Dajka in Stary Smokovec; date not given: "Exclusive Interview on the South Slav Crisis—Geza Jeszenszky: We Have Limited Means"]

[Text] Hungary has no reason to deviate from the solution the EC recommended for the south Slav crisis, Geza Jeszenszky said. Jeszenszky gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP in Otatrafured [Stary Smokovec in Slovakia]. He does not think it likely that NATO will assign a role to Hungarian airspace in its plans for an aerial strike on Bosnia, therefore, we need not worry about retaliation.

[Dajka] Is the Hungarian government preparing to change its policy on the south Slav crisis as was suggested by Mihaly Fulop, director in charge of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute, in the Hungarian Radio's "Vilagora" [world hour] program on 8 August? In his view, in consideration of the interests of the Hungarians in the Vojvodina, the Serbs' victory should be recognized in Bosnia.

[Jeszenszky] The Hungarian government's policies are quite consistent in all areas. I am not claiming that it has not in some cases changed its emphasis over three years. Naturally, we take the actual facts into consideration in the sense that Hungary has very few means to influence the solution of the south Slav crisis. There is no point in significantly deviating from the solution recommended by the EC countries. We have no reason to do this, either, because what the EC included in the Carrington plan at the beginning of the crisis is exactly the same as what I see as a good solution in the area of the former Yugoslavia as well as in Central and Eastern Europe. We condemn steps that go contrary to international law and belong to the notion of war crimes. We urge that a political solution to the south Slav crisis be found as soon as possible and, if the Hungarian attitude can in any way contribute to this, then we will take these steps.

[Dajka] However, I imagine you are not preparing to recognize Serbian victory?

[Jeszenszky] The intention of the Serbs to unite all Serbs in one territory has partially succeeded and, naturally, we have no way of changing this. Since the beginning of the crisis, I have always emphasized that Hungary was striving for as good relations with the Serbs as with the Croats or the Slovenes. This is what Hungary is trying to implement, regardless of who is in power in Belgrade. However, I doubt that we can talk about a victory of either side in this war.

[Dajka] On 9 August, the NATO ambassadors voted to be ready for an aerial strike on Serbian positions in Bosnia. It is possible that they will need the Hungarian airspace for this or that they will request permission for this from the Hungarian government. Is the Hungarian government ready to give permission?

[Jeszenszky] This is unlikely. NATO's AWACS planes, which are using the Hungarian airspace, have a completely different mandate and this is restricted to observing aerial activities in Bosnia. The military steps being considered at the moment will not be implemented through using the Hungarian airspace, therefore, the presence or the function of these planes will not change.

[Dajka] Are you receiving regular information on the activities of the AWACS planes and is there any guarantee that these airplanes will not deviate from their mandate?

[Jeszenszky] There is no need for them to deviate from their mandate because it is well known how much armament has been piled up in the Adriatic region. If such a military action is to take place, it is of public knowledge that it will be directed from Italy, from the NATO headquarters in Naples and they will obviously use the NATO bases in Italy. Hungary does not have any NATO bases, therefore, any kind of involvement by Hungary in a military action can certainly be excluded.

[Dajka] Did NATO hold preliminary consultations with Hungary on a possible military action?

[Jeszenszky] It is not the Foreign Ministry's task to get information on military details. The Hungarian Army or the Hungarian military leadership has nothing to do with what NATO is doing at the request of the United Nations based on the mandate of the Security Council.

[Dajka] What will happen if a request should nevertheless come for NATO troops to use the Hungarian airspace for aerial attacks?

[Jeszenszky] I am convinced that there is no need for such a request, therefore, it will not come. However, if for some reason, it was necessary for the users of Hungarian airspace to receive a different mandate, this will be a completely new situation which will belong to Parliament's jurisdiction.

[Dajka] If Hungary was to participate, even indirectly, in a military action, could we expect Serbian retaliation?

[Jeszenszky] We are not intending to get involved in anything, therefore I do not think that Hungary will be in a more dangerous position than it has been up to now.

Workers Party Against NATO Intervention in Bosnia

LD1208191793 Budapest MTI in English 1611 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Budapest, August 12 (MTI)—Hungary's Workers' Party has asked the government not to support NATO military intervention in Bosnia, Party Chairman Gyula Thurmer told the press on Thursday.

In the Workers' Party's view, the NATO decision on possible air strikes in Bosnia, i.e. openly using violent means, may make political settlement of the south Slav crisis impossible.

According to the Workers' Party, the Hungarian Government should ban NATO AWACS planes from patrolling in Hungary's airspace because, in case of possible military action, Hungary's security can be guaranteed only if its airspace and territory are free from foreign aircraft and military forces.

Also, the Workers' Party proposes that Hungary's mission in Belgrade and Yugoslavia's mission in Budapest should be headed by ambassadors, and that the two countries' foreign trade ministers and highest leaders should have talks.

Editorial Views Possibility of Attack on Serbs

AU1208152593 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Aug 93 p 3

[Editorial by Endre Aczel: "Before War? Before Peace?"]

[Text] A terrible military and diplomatic game is being played in Bosnia and Sarajevo. According to all appearances, the positions of the Bosnian Serb army and its supply routes will be bombed by the Americans, but an increasing number of signs indicate that there is a serious conflict between NATO's (external) and the UN's (local) military leaders.

However, it has been decided—it is in an official document—that a NATO (meaning mainly U.S.) intervention will only take place if the UN Security Council authorizes it.

The questions are now:

1. Whom the Security Council—if at least one state, namely Russia, is dead against an aerial attack on the Bonsian Serbs—will listen to when assessing the risks.

2. Whether the Security Council can be convinced that, as happened in the war against Iraq, a military action can be implemented with clear goals, against well-defined targets, with the show of a large numerical superiority, and with minimal losses.

What are the risks? Many kinds. On one hand, it is what they call the "(expected) revenge of the Serbs" and that is mentioned in the context of foiling the United Nations' humanitarian, life-saving, and hunger-reducing actions that are run with much suffering and pain, and of the physical danger of the UN soldiers themselves. On the other hand, it is said that the Muslim enemies of the Serbs will immediately use the new situation for acquiring (recapturing) territory, not mentioning a probably long line of personal revenges.

Of course, the fact that the "risks" and, therefore, the preceding torments are also very well known by the Serbs who abuse this situation, is the problem of this whole argument.

However, something has to be done.

Unfortunately, I know that this something can only be a total war against the Bosnian Serb forces, without the participation of UN soldiers.

Why? Because, as soon as the Serbs, in retaliation to the aerial attacks and using their familiarity with the terrain, start to shoot at UN soldiers, the other countries will immediately withdraw these soldiers. The United Nations is present as a protection force, to protect the peace and the ceasefires in Bosnia, this is what its madate is for. If it has no one to work together with to protect these, then its presence loses its meaning and becomes untenable.

The next thing is that, without the United Nations, some 2.2 million Bosnian citizens who are fed, assisted, and whose lives are being saved, will die of starvation in the winter or will die due to injuries.

If, in the coming days, the protection of the people in Bosnia is not given absolute priority from all sides—NATO, the UN, Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Yugoslavia, and Croatia—at the expense of the ethnically pure new state formations, then, for want of a better solution, the curbing of the Serbs can come with all its hardly foreseeable but definitely terrible consequences.

Interior Ministry Proposes May 1994 for Elections

LD1108144293 Budapest MTI in English 1244 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—Hungary's Interior Ministry proposes the first round of the 1994 general elections be held in mid-May and the second round in early June, Interior Minister Peter Boross told the press on Wednesday.

Boross said it had yet to be decided whether the ballot should be held on a Sunday or a Friday.

Under an amendment proposal on electoral law, submitted by the cabinet, Hungarian citizens living abroad would have the right to vote, a moral gesture, which, Boross said, would mean about 50,000 votes.

Hungary's six parties in parliament have agreed that votes for a party should have one round only and that by-elections can be held once a year. Most parties have also agreed that the minimum votes for a party to get into parliament should be increased from four per cent to five per cent of ballots.

Boross said more significant amendments to the electoral law, like reducing the number of MPs and creating a two-chamber parliament, may be made in 1995, when there will still be three years to go until the next general elections.

Meanwhile, he said cabinet had deliberately delayed submitting a bill on refugee affairs as Western European countries were now amending their regulations to tighten exclusion clauses, and Hungary, being a country especially exposed to refugee influxes, should take these changes into consideration.

During the press briefing, Baross said Hungarian police would get a pay rise of slightly above 25 per cent, in two instalments on October 1 and January 1.

Answering a question, he criticized police leaders who had made statements to the press that organized crime was working its way into politics in Hungary.

Officials should make statements to the press only if they knew enough about a field, Boross said. If there were a danger of organized crime in politics, it must be investigated and averted.

Asked by MTI, he said if invited, he would attend the reburial in Hungary of the late Hungarian Governor Miklos Horthy, who died in exile in Portugal in 1957.

He added he could not imagine all cabinet members being invited to the funeral in Kenderes, in central Hungary, and did not think that all cabinet members would attend the ceremony as private individuals, either.

The Hungarian cabinet will not be officially represented at the reburial of Horthy and his wife.

The couple, currently resting in the military cemetery of Lisbon, are to be reburied in Kenderes, their former family estate, on September 4. The ceremony will be held with an ecumenical service. Horthy, an admiral, will be laid to his final rest with navy honours.

Hungarian Justice, Life Party Draws Up Program

AU1208161493 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Aug 93 p 1

[Report by Istvan Joo: "The Election Program Points of the Hungarian Justice-National Solidarity and Spiritual Coalition"]

[Text] The temporary Executive Committee of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party has drawn up the "essence" of the party's election program in eight points. The points have not yet been published because the Hungarian Justice Party first wants to get approval from the Hungarian Way Movement's Executive Committee.

Lajos Horvath, executive chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, told PESTI HIRLAP that the points mainly advocate order, equality of opportunity, nation-building state, public education with Hungarian spirit, and curbing crime, corruption, and the abundant use of connections. In addition to this, they also say yes to a foreign policy that leads to Europe, regarding maternity as a full-time occupation, an institute of family taxation, and the provision of justice. One of the points state that Hungarian land is not for sale because the country belongs to those who own the land. The draft program includes a demand for the introduction of a new constitution, a rational reorganization of the ministries that have large overheads, and effective environmental protection.

According to the executive chairman of this right-wing party, the Hungarian Justice Party can help the "national solidarity and spiritual coalition" that will end the current damaging practices, namely when parliamentary parties that only represent groups and interest groups make pacts over society's head. Answering our question, Horvath said that his party is not at all worried about the accusation of supporting a patriotic front because "things do not necessarily turn into what they are called". He emphasized that, in the interest of a real change of regime, the Hungarian Justice and Life Party and the Hungarian Way Movement, which is in constant consultation with it, are able to survive amid the stormy waters of public affairs like a catamaran.

Answering our question, the chairman added that, by the time Parliament's autumn session starts, it will not be possible to accuse the Hungarian Justice Parliamentary Group that its 12 members do not all belong to a party.

HDF Not To Participate in Election Discussions

LD1208171093 Budapest MTI in English 1404 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Budapest, August 12 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), the largest ruling coalition party, does not want to take part in a series of talks on the 1994 general elections proposed by the opposition Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), HDF Spokesman Karoly Herenyi said on Thursday.

Herenyi spoke after a session of the HDF's managing presidium on Wednesday night. Answering a letter by HSP Chairman Gyula Horn, the presidium decided not to attend the talks because the agenda featured issues requiring amendments to the electoral law, which could only be made by parliament.

Another reason for the refusal, Herenyi reported, was that participants included organizations the HDF did not want to enter into talks with, such as the Independent Smallholders' Party wing headed by Jozsef Torgyan, which had left the coalition, and the Workers' Party. However, such organizations did not include the Hungarian Justice Party, he added.

HSP Deputy Chairman Imre Szekeres said that, of the 19 political organizations contacted by the socialists, 11 agreed to attend the inter-party talks. They included the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats. Meanwhile, Herenyi said the

HDF had selected candidates for the 1994 elections in more than 60 of the 176 constituencies. Two thirds of the candidates were MPs [members of parliament] in the present parliament.

According to the HDF presidium, the election campaign should be short, inexpensive and honest, Herenyi reported.

National Labor Center Notes Rise in Unemployment

AU1208132893 Budapest MTI in English 1450 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Budapest, 11 Aug (MTI)—After dropping continuously for the past few months, the number of unemployed registered with the National Labour Centre (NLC) rose again by nearly 20,000 in July.

On July 20, the statistical closing day, the number of jobless climbed to 677,000, 13 percent of the active workforce, the NLC reported on Wednesday.

On July 20, the NLC registered 71,000 jobless school-leavers, 31,000 of them over July alone, 10 percent of all unemployed.

The number of jobless excluding those who just left school, however, continued to drop from 611,000 to 606,000.

The number of registered vacant jobs was 36,800 on Ju 20, 20 percent up from the end of June.

Differences between the regions continue to be vast, the unemployment rate being 22.3 percent in Nograd county, North Hungary, and 6.7 percent in Budapest.

Trade With CIS, Eastern Europe Reported

LD1208170193 Budapest MTI in English 1247 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Budapest, August 12 (MTI)—Despite recession hitting eastern Europe, former socialist countries accounted for a quarter of Hungary's trade, worth almost USD 2.5 billion, in the first half this year, the International Economic Relations Ministry reports.

Ministry Deputy State Secretary Lajos Berenyi said Hungarian entrepreneurs had also shown great interest in neighbouring countries, with about 1,000 joint ventures in the region involving Hungarian interests.

In the first half, Hungary's trade with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was worth USD 1.5 billion, of which 80-85 per cent was with Russia despite that country's solvency problems. Although Russia cut back on imports by an average 50 per cent, its Hungarian imports dropped by a smaller percentage.

Russian exports to Hungary were mainly oil, gas, chemicals and cars, while Hungary's exports to Russia were mainly buses, maize seed, medicine and aluminium oxide. Hungary's agricultural exports to Russia dropped to one third compared with the same period last year, due to a grain shortage.

Of CIS countries, Hungary's second largest trade partner is Ukraine. In the first six months, Hungarian exports to Ukraine were worth USD 80 million, while imports from Ukraine were worth USD 50 million.

Hungary's trade with the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the first half amounted to USD 160-180 million, similar to the same period last year, but with Poland it fell 10 per cent to USD 150 million.

Hungary's exports to Romania totalled USD 100 million, while trade amounted to USD 100 million with both Slovenia and Croatia. Talks are underway with Slovenia on a free-trade agreement.

Hungary had virtually no trade with rump Yugoslavia, and trade with Bulgaria and Albania dropped significantly this year.

Berenyi said Hungary's exports may increase to some countries in the second half, but no large improvement was expected. Hungarian trade missions in those countries might prompt some improvement.

Hospitals Ready To Admit Sarajevo Children

AU1308102593 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12—The Children's Health Centre at Miedzylesie near Warsaw and the Warsaw Provincial Children's Hospital were first to respond to an appeal by Marek Edelman, the survivor of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising and member of the recent Polish aid mission to the embattled regions of former Yugoslavia, to admit and treat thirty Sarajevo children free of charge, Anna Wilk from the equilibre foundation said today.

She added that offers of places at hospitals throughout Poland were coming and their number exceeded thirty. The Warsaw provincial children's traumatic surgery hospital offered ten places, the children's surgery ward at the Biskupiec Hospital four places, the Gabriel Narutowicz specialized hospital in Krakow two places and the children's ward of the Warsaw Interior Ministry Hospital will admit several children.

EC To Grant Financial Assistance for Social Reforms

LD1208152193 Warsaw PAP in English 1309 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12—Representatives of the European Communities and the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy signed on Thursday [12 August] a memorandum on EC financial assistance for the development and reforms of Polish social policy. For that purpose the agreement envisages 7.2 million ECU to be used by the end of 1995.

The document is part of the "fiesta" programme, which is to support the Polish Government in transforming energy generating sector, finances, banks and social policy.

Under the programme Poland should get financial support for reforming procedures of solving collective disputes and conducting trilateral dialogues between the executive power, employers and employees. The money from the fund will also go for the improvement of the work safety, social and health insurance as well as for technical and financial training.

The ministry plans to set up a foundation for social peace, which would be responsible for training mediators in social conflicts, analysing and reporting reasons of social unrest.

Commissioner Updates Russian Troop Withdrawal Numbers

LD1208170593 Warsaw PAP in English 1401 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12—Over 400 soldiers and 1,098 civilian employees and members of families of the former Soviet Army left Poland by trains from the railway stations of Warsaw-Rembertow, Legnica and Raszowka last July, the government commissioner for the stationing of Russian troops in Poland said on Thursday [12 August]. About 1,900 Russian soldiers and officers as well as 1,902 civilian employees and members of families were in Poland on August 1.

On July 21, all Russian troops left the Poznan garrison. Last July, Polish authorities sent away 13 transport planes from Legnica and took over 12 transport aircrft there. They also sent away 273 railway cars (79 per cent of the planned number). Last month, Polish authorities took over 28 buildings and 9,147 hectares of land from withdrawing Russian military units.

Last month, the efficiency of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland was lessened by government talks on the location of the Russian military mission for the transit of Russian troops from Germany via Poland. The lack of an agreement on this question delayed the departure of the Russian communications brigade from Rembertow near here.

Democratic Left Alliance Presents Economic Program

AU1208162693 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 11 Aug 93 p 2

[Report by 'K.K': "The SLD Presents Its Economic Program"]

[Text] "We are putting forward an alternative to the current economic policy, but it is not revolutionary changes that we want, as we believe that the market economy policy is irreversible," said Jozef Oleksy, one of the leaders of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], on Tuesday [10 August], while presenting the economic part of the electoral program of the postcommunist left.

The main provisions of the SLD's economic program are: stimulating the economy, combating unemployment, and reducing the social costs of transformations.

Presenting the SLD program, Marek Borowski began by calling for a change in taxation policy, which should be geared to extending the taxation base to include the gray sector of the economy and revenue from duty. According to the SLD, no reduction in taxation is possible without budget receipts being jeopardized. One form of taxation concessions would be investment concessions, which would result in an increase in the number of jobs. SLD economists have also called for a permanent policy of promoting exports, but do not say precisely what methods should be used. They do not go beyond stating that this will not be achieved by manipulating exchange rates or a sudden devaluation of the zloty. The SLD also comes out in favor of reducing interest rates and countering the cause of inflation, 80 percent of which, according to Borowski, is caused by government increases in energy prices. The SLD stresses the necessity of attracting foreign investors, but on condition that there is full parliamentary control over their presence, which should produce results in the labor market above all. The SLD also does not reject calls for reprivatization and privatization, but disagrees with the pace and extent of the concepts that have been implemented to date. Borowski did not propose any timeframe for these activities or say which of these measures has already some kind of concrete character in the form of outlines in legislation. Commenting on the similarities between the Social Democrats' policies and government actions or solutions proposed by the Liberal-Democratic Congress, Borowski acknowledged that economic policies were converging on issues such as combating unemployment and stimulating the economy. He was of the opinion, however, that parties in the coalition government were adopting the social demands of the SLD, which had so far been rejected by the Sejm.

On Tuesday, the chairman of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] launched another fierce attack on the agricultural and privatization policies of "Solidarity" governments. "The acceleration of the privatization of the fuels sector is a strategic decision made by a government that had lost a no confidence vote," said Pawlak. "A bureaucrat makes a mistake and the farmer is punished," was his comment on the decision made by the head of the Agriculture Ministry to close down the Fund for Agricultural Restructuring and Debt Relief. He also accused the government of sluggishness, because, according to him, nothing was done about the fund several months ago, although it was already known that there had been abuses regarding the granting of credits. "Now funds that should have been used for the purchase of grain have been cut off and that will harm agriculture," said Pawlak.

ZChN Announces Economic Points of Election Program

AU1308100993 Warsaw PAP in English 1758 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12—Leaders of the Christian National Union (ZChN) announced that combating unemployment and protecting the domestic market were the main points of their economic programme.

Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski declared that the ZChN intended to help make next year the final year of rising unemployment.

The ZChN favours "an extension of the domestic market by means of exports," and the undertaking of investments such as motorway building or the construction of an east-west gas pipeline to stimulate the economy.

The ZChN leaders thought that Poland would remain an "industrial-agricultural" country for a long time and that therefore agriculture needed to be strengthened. They favoured privatisation from which the beneficiaries had to be above all Poles.

As for the European Community, Goryszewski said the ZChN is not against joining, but opposes the idea of "forcing the tempo."

Over 640 Candidates in Elections on BBWR Ticket

LD1208213393 Warsaw PAP in English 1930 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 12—A total of 647 candidates including 582 men and 65 women will run in the September parliamentary elections on the ticket of the Non-Party Reform Bloc (BBWR). They gained support of 231,896 persons.

Spokesman for the BBWR Jacek Szymanderski on Thursday [12 August] told newsmen that "the fact that the president's initiative to launch within two months the grass-roots Civic Movement became a reality" can be called a "great success." He added that the number of collected signatures testifies that the president's initiative was needed.

District lists of BBWR candidates for Sejm include former Sejm Deputy of the Centre Alliance (PC) and later of the Polish Liberal Programme (PPL) Jerzy Eysymontt, businessman Marek Wielgus and famous boxer Zbigniew Pietrzykowski, former Sejm Deputy of the Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP) Jerzy Wuttke, former Solidarity Sejm Deputy Stanislaw Weglarz, former PC Deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk and former Deputy of the Solidarity of Labour Wojciech Kwiatkowski.

The age of the candidates is ranging between 30 and 50. 350 of candidates have university degree. Among them are 37 lawyers, 10 journalists, 47 economists and 18 businessmen.

Szymanderski also said that "after the elections the BBWR will be open to different alliances which could help the party to implement its programme" that is to be launched next week.

Rightist Coalition Claims Success in Registering Candidates

AU1208130193 Warsaw PAP in English 1311 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—The rightist Coalition for the Republic of Poland (KDR) registered 600 candidates for the Sejm (lower house) in all but one of Poland's constituencies. This is a victory for us, KDR leaders told a press conference in Warsaw. 150,000 signatures allowed the coalition to register 28 lists.

Under the present electoral law the coalition did not need to have collected the signatures as at least one of the parties which comprises it had over 15 members in a parliamentary floor group in the previous Sejm. However, the coalition decided not to accept this privilege in order to protest against the law that gives political parties a possibility to secure their interests, KDR leader Jan Olszewski said at the conference.

Andrzej Zalewski of the KDR Electoral Committee expressed his dissatisfaction with the work of electoral commissions in six towns (Krakow, Opole, Skierniewice, Poznan, Elblag, Gliwice) which took too long in checking the credibility of the signatures.

He also declared that the coalition will appeal the decision of the constituency electoral commission in Czestochowa, which questioned the number of signatures on the list with the KDR candidates.

UD To Table Anti-Corruption Legislation in New Sejm

AU1308101093 Warsaw PAP in English 1745 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12— The chairman of the Sejm (lower house) Budget Committee of the last tenure, Wojciech Arkuszewski, announced Thursday that deputies of the Democratic Union (UD) will file with a new Sejm three draft laws designed to prevent economic crimes, especially corruption—a draft law on the protection of economic circulation, on public orders, and on excise sealing.

According to Arkuszewski, breaks in legislative works caused by successive elections result in delays of up to one year in adopting laws. The law on economic circulation, which is aimed at fighting, among other things, money laundering, and the law on excise sealing could have been already adopted was not it for the dissolution of parliament, Arkuszewski said.

A draft law on public orders is a new UD proposal. According to its authors most irregularities and scandals, not only in Poland, occur in this sphere as large sums of money from state and local government budgets are allocated every year for public orders. According to one of UD experts, it is necessary to create an open system of these orders based on the principle of competitiveness and equality.

Apprehension of Armenians on Border Reported

AU1308101193 Warsaw PAP in English 1555 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 12—Nearly 170 Armenian citizens have been apprehended in Szczecin province since the beginning of the year, while attempting to illegally cross the Polish-German border, an officer of the Pomeranian border guard said Thursday [12 August].

In recent months Armenians have made attempts to illegally enter Germany ever more often and in larger groups. Those apprehended have unanimously explained they wanted to escape the civil war now waged in their country.

Government Prepared To Issue Memorandum in U.S. Arms Case

LD1208122393 Warsaw PAP in English 1148 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12—The Polish Government is ready to issue an "amicus curiae" memorandum in the case of the five Poles awaiting trial in the United States on charges of illegal arms trading "at the moment this would be most advantageous," Zdobyslaw Milewski, press secretary to Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, announced on Thursday.

In a statement released to the press, Milewski noted that the Suchocka government has "from the beginning been concerned over the fate of those charged." He cited as an example the discussions with German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in April 1993, following which Rajmund Szwonder, arrested with the five others in Germany, but not extradited on health grounds, was returned to Poland.

The statement continues: "Over recent months, the cabinet office has been weighing up various forms of legal involvement on the part of the Polish Government in the trial of the five accused. Hanna Suchocka has already decided that the Polish Government will issue a suitable memorandum on the basis of an 'amicus curiae' formula. This will be done at the moment which would be the most advantageous in relation to the trial conditions. The possibility of such intervention was not made public earlier, because the case is unusually delicate, and complicated legally. Therefore, the Polish Government will present specifics of the action to public opinion after it has been notified to the U.S. Government."

Unemployment Total Reaches 2.8 Million

LD1208183993 Warsaw PAP in English 1529 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 12—The number of unemployed in Poland reached 2.81 million people (15.2 per cent of the working population) in July, a 4.1 per cent increase (110,000 people) over the previous month, according to figures released by Deputy Labour Minister Michal Boni on Thursday [12 August].

There was an increase in unemployment in 47 provinces and a fall in only 2. The highest numbers of jobless are in Koszalin (27.4 per cent) and Olsztyn (26.5 per cent), the lowest in Warsaw and Krakow (less than 8 per cent).

Asked about the unemployment level in Praszka where unemployed protestors pushed the mayor around in a wheelbarrow on August 3, Boni said that for every job vacancy in the area there were 15 job seekers, whereas the national average was 1 to 74. "There is no basis for regarding this region as specifically threatened by high structural unemployment," maintained Boni.

Railroad Engine Drivers Strike Continues

Ministry Calls Strike 'Chaotic'

AU1208125093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] The Transportation Ministry has issued the following communique:

Prior to the start of the railroad engineers' strike, the SNCFR [National Romanian Railroad Company] drew up a program to ensure essential transportation involving not more than one third of normal operations. This minimum program mainly applies to international passenger and freight trains and the transportation of fuel, perishable goods, livestock, fodder, and other goods. Apart from the fact that in starting the strike the law was not observed, the way it has been developing can be termed chaotic. Considering that, in accordance with the instructions issued by the Executive Bureau of the Federation of Free and Independent Trade Unions of Railroad Engineers, each unit and depot on strike has the right to make decisions, the minimum one third program stipulated by the law was violated. Some depots respected the obligatory proportion, while in the meantime others have abandoned this proportion, and others applied it with considerable delay.

Under these conditions, a chaotic situation was created because for the marshaling of each train discussions were held between the administration of the respective depots and the strikers. As a result, the minister of transportation, Mr. Paul Teodoru, contacted the Executive Bureau of the Federation and called on its members to inform all units about the need to work in accordance with the legal parameters so as to put an end to the chaotic situation of the strike. [passage omitted]

At the state borders of Curtici, Episcopia Bihor, and Stamora Moravica international passenger trains are not moving. An effort is being made to ensure transportation for children travelling to and from summer camps, the Transportation Ministry's communique reads in conclusion.

We remind listeners that this situation in the rail system will continue today until 1900 hours [1600 GMT].

Chaos Reported in Most Regions

AU1208125193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Our correspondents report that the situation in railroad system in Cluj County has become worse. Last night the depots in Dej, Satu Mare, and Sighetu Marmatiei announced that they will prevent any engines from leaving their premises. [passage omitted].

A large group of passengers are stranded at the Craiova railroad station. They arrived there last night at 2300 [2000 GMT] from Bucharest on fast train number 23 and could not continue their journey to Tirgu Jiu owing to the fact that no engine was available for the train. According to Mihai Pasare, the chief of Craiova station, the local bus company has already contacted to make arrangements for transportation of the passengers to Tirgu Jiu by bus. [passage omitted]

Vasile Chiper, the head of the Constanta railroad region told our reporters that yesterday several groups of children who had spent their vacation at the Navodari camp have tried to leave for home on the routes leading to Brasov, Cluj, and Sighetu Marmatiei. Despite the fact that the Constanta railroad region leadership and the engine drivers' trade unions had previously reached an agreement according to which the mentioned groups of children would be transported home, the Brasov and Craiova unions have not observed the accord. As a consequence of this a group of 160 children returned to Navodari from Bucharest last night and several hundred other children are stranded in Campina and Ploiesti waiting for transportation home. Our correspondent has also reported that this morning only one train, fast train number 824, has left Constanta [the Black Sea coast]. Another fast train will probably leave Constanta at 1300 [1000 GMT]. This morning seven passenger trains were blocked in Mangalia, eight in Constanta, two in Tulcea, two in Medgidia, five in Fetesti, two in Calarasi, and one in Slobozia.

In the Iasi railroad region the depots in Iasi, Pascani, Cimpulung, and Bacau went on total strike last night. The depot in Suceava is the only one still providing transportation of one third of the priority activity, as stipulated by law, the engine drivers of that depot ensuring the transportation of perishable goods, tank cars filled with fuel and coal necessary for the power stations, and of live animals. The engine drivers of Suceava depot have also agreed to transport children returning home from summer camps.

Today no passenger train has left the Satu Mare railroad station, except for fast train 468 headed for Bucharest, which left the station this morning with schoolchildren heading for the Paltinis summer camp, Grigore Despina, the leader of the Satu Mare engine drivers' trade union told our reporter.

According to the Baia Mare station chief, only one train, fast train number 441, will arrive there today. That train is carrying children living in Maramures and Satu Mare counties who are coming home from the Navodari summer camp.

In the area of the Timisoara railroad region no trains are running today, except for passenger trains for Caransebes, pulled by engines belonging to the Caransebes depot, and except for the trains used for military transports, our correspondents report. [passage omitted]

Union Condemns Government Attitude

AU1208152093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1405 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/8/1993—The Union Federation of Engine Drivers, who went on strike on August 11, protests in a release issued on Thursday against the authorities' indifference, asking them to take action to settle the conflict.

We are worried by the indifference of decision-makers as regards the current labor conflict, of the National Railway Company and the government, as well as by the government's latest communique which mentions the intimation of the Prosecutor's Office, reads the release.

In this context, the strikers' response might run out of control and the executive will be the only one to be blamed.

We mention that in our previous releases we asked the interested parties to use on statements or appeals a conciliatory language, so as not to generate a tension that might lead to unwanted reactions.

We keep waiting for the signatories to the conciliation minutes of June 16, 1993 to get involved in settling the conflict.

The release is signed by Federation's President Ioan Vlad.

Union Letter to Iliescu

AU1208192093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] The Federation of Free and Independent Trade Unions of Railroad Engine Drivers has sent an open letter to Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu.

Our correspondent Mihai Secelean has sent us the full text of this letter which reads as follows:

We approach Your Excellency with the hopes of those who have reached an impasse in solving the troubles and problems they are facing. Knowing you as a promoter of conciliation, we want to ask you to intervene; to halt this serious situation as it is our sincere desire to find a way out of this impasse.

We want to remind you that our basic problem—the wage scale—was discussed before under the aegis of the presidency on 4 September 1992 and a solution has yet to be found, something that makes us believe that, for reasons and causes we neither know nor understand, we have been pushed into this collective labor conflict intentionally.

Our great distress is not only the indifference with which the signatories to the conciliation official report—signed in Brasov on 16 June 1993—treat this issues, but also the lack of interest displayed by the representatives who are able to solve this conflict.

The letter then continues as follows: There have been frequent threats against the strikers, something that has increased tension. There have also been references to the lawfulness and lawlessness of the strike. But Law No. 15, article 32, stipulates that during a strike negotiations will continue, without conditioning them on their lawfulness or lawlessness, and without specific mention of the place where these negotiations should take place.

Hoping for Your Excellencies' help, we pledge to cooperate with the appropriate authorities in order to halt the conflict.

The open letter sent to Romania's president is signed by the leader of the Federation of Free and Independent Trade Unions of the Railroad Engine Drivers, Mr. Ioan Vlad.

Agriculture Ministry Statement

AU1208202493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] A communique received from the Ministry of Agriculture emphasizes that the engine drivers' strike has affected small-scale private enterprises and regional agricultural trade associations and companies, which are facing very serious problems in the transportation of wheat to the bread factories, of grains, fodder, and fodder concentrates to animal breeding and fattening complexes, and of fuel oil for continuing agricultural operations, including wheat harvesting.

The supply to the population with agricultural produce and foodstuffs is also being seriously affected. The workers in agriculture and the food industry are asking the engine drivers to seek ways and means to resume the transportation of these products and not to jeopardize the supply of strictly necessary products for the population, animal breeding complexes, and for the proper progress of agriculture, the communique received from the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture stresses.

Official Warns of Losses

AU1308083293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0641 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/8/1993—In an appeal made over the National Radio station, the president of the National Society of Romanian Railways (SNCFR) has stressed on the illegal character of the strike entered Wednesday by train drivers and on the impossibility to change the current salary grid, as well as on "the huge losses" brought by that strike to Romania's economy.

"I want to stress once again the illegal character of the strike, also ruled by a final decision of the Supreme Court, not to intimidate or put pressure on strikers, but to inform them correctly and let them decide by their own," said the SNCFR president, Aurel Dumitrescu.

According to legal provisions, the wage grid cannot be unilaterally adjusted by the administration, without previous negotiations or without gaining the approval of the majority of the workers' representatives.

The current wage levels are at a maximum as to the financial conditions in the SNCFR, that were presented and supported by documents in front of the strikers' representatives.

The decrease in the SNCFR income due to the current strike will bring serious difficulties for the ensurance of the legal pay of employees that did not enter strike.

Damages that are likely be asked by rail transport beneficiaries affected by the strike will contribute further to the severeness of the financial situation of the Romanian railways.

Taking into account all these reasons, all the huge losses brought to Romania's economy, the citizens and the entire railway staff call on all engine drivers and on their assistants to resume activity, ensuring a normal railway transport activity.

Total Strike Declared

AU1308090293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0800 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] The railroad engineers' strike has been suspended for 80 days, that is until 31 October 1993. This was the decision of the Supreme Court of Justice, which today ruled on the request filed in this respect by the Romanian National Railroad Company [SNCFR], our reporter Victoria Andrei informs us.

A few minutes ago, the spokesman of the strike committee of the Brasov railroad depot, Ovidiu Gheorghian, faxed us a communique, which reads as follows, quote: Communique to Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's Parliament and Government, the SNCFR leadership, the leadership of the Brasov regional railroad company, the media, and to passengers: Acknowledging the ruling of the Supreme Court of Justice, which we view as unfounded, we want to inform you that the trade union members decided that as of 1100 [0800 GMT] the general strike that began at 0700 [0400 GMT] on 11 August 1993 will turn into a total strike. This means the cessation of any kind of rail transportation in the area of operations of the Brasov railroad company, unquote.

The communique, we want to repeat, is signed by the spokesman of the strike committee of the Brasov railroad depot, Ovidiu Gheorghian.

Government, Unions Discuss Subsidies, Wages

AU1208192393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1731 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/8/1993—The representatives of the main trade union confederations in Romania demanded that the executive should cut the subsidies some categories of employees still benefit from and that the lowest wage at a national level be renegotiated.

The CNSRL [National Council of Free Trade Unions of Romania]-Fratia Confederation was represented by its president Victor Ciorbea, and by Miron Mitrea, executive president, the Cartel Alfa by Bogdan Hossu, president, and Eugen Tamas, secretary-general, and the government by Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu and State Ministers Misu Negritoiu, Mircea Dan Popescu and Florin Georgescu.

The union representatives stressed once more that if the government accepted and granted the required subsidies for the Jiu Valley miners to get pay brackets much above the average of the other categories of employees, the mounting of the inflation spiral would be inevitable and so would a mushrooming of pay claims, starting with the other coal fields and up to the public servants.

CNSRL-fratia, stressing the need for speeding up the society's democratization, the privatization and restructuring of the economy, demanded the reduction and elimination of the subsidies the soonest.

As regarded the engine drivers' strike that started the day before, the CNSRL-Fratia representatives showed that the conflict situation was mostly generated by the current administration of the railway company that refuses the dialogue with certain federations and ignored the union claims. Consequently, the settlement of the conflict required the replacement of the company's administration and the resumption of the negotiations in that branch, with the participation of all federations.

Considering the difficult situation of most of the Romanian population, the CNSRL-Fratia insisted on the renegotiation of the clauses referring to the lowest salary in the national economy and to the price-wages relation, as well as on the reconsideration of the new government measures on salary indexation.

Minister Discusses Sale of Merchant Fleet

AU1208111493 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Aug 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Paul Teodoru, minister of transportation, by Cristina Oroveanu; place and date not given: "Paul Teodoru Decides To Lay the Cards on the Table"]

[Excerpts] The well-known Petromin-Forum Maritime deal reached its "peak" on Friday, 6 August. We say this because the moment when the Constanta Court of Appeal announced its decision corresponds to at least the moment when the contract itself was signed. At this time, however, we do not know whether Petromin will use its right to appeal. [passage omitted]

In connection with the future of the Romanian merchant fleet, we thought it would be useful to have a discussion—with "the cards on the table"—with Mr. Paul Teodoru, minister of transportation. [passage omitted]

[Oroveanu] Mr. Minister Teodoru, at this time of tension in connection with what domestic and international media termed the Petromin-Forum Maritime deal, are you ready to openly discuss things and lay the cards on the table, so to speak, in connection with the entire deal or, at least, its essential parts?

[Teodoru] Every time I discussed this subject with mass media representatives, I tried to discuss things openly and in all essential points. The fact that what was published did not reflect what I had said, including CURIERUL NATIONAL, cannot be blamed on me. [passage omitted] I have always discussed this problem in a very concrete way.

[Oroveanu] Nevertheless, the government, your ministry gave the impression that certain "areas" of the deal, so to say, were ambiguous. Was this or is this due to a lack of information, data about the deal or to secrecy that often accompanies financial or trade operations?

[Teodoru] I think the answer needs certain absolutely necessary explanations. The operation we were obliged to resort to, when we realized that our merchant fleet needs a massive infusion of capital, that is, a contract like the one with Forum Maritime, are operations that actually take place throughout the world—Norway, England, Cyprus, Malta, the Bahamas, and so forth. These operations required investigations in the respective countries that are actually not concluded to this day. This distribution throughout the world of the "Petromin" fleet required and requires checks at economic units or companies registered in other countries and which naturally operate in accordance with the laws of the given country. I also have to emphasize that Petromin did not have financial-accountancy records of operations carried out by the trade units or companies I mentioned before, something that required a cautious approach of the problem. It is difficult to make unverified affirmations. One has to exercise the same caution when asking certain companies questions, which do not belong to you, because you may be turned out of the door as in fact this happened to the parliamentary commission members and even the ministry representatives when they wanted to clarify certain problems with Petromin's foreign partners.

Each country has laws imposing a certain confidential treatment of trade operations. We cannot ignore this aspect. We had to act accordingly and observe the laws that govern such deals in the respective countries. [passage omitted]

[Oroveanu] Your answer raises a basic question: How was the Romanian merchant fleet distributed to so many corners in this world, under so many laws and so many flags? When did this happen?

[Teodoru] Between 1990-1992, various responsible officials concluded all these contracts; they are either contracts on joint companies, management contracts, or bareboat-type of contracts that led to the distribution of the Romanian merchant fleet. I do not want to discuss the motives behind these contracts. I proceed from the idea that each one had the laudable intention to seek solutions to save this fleet, which was in a difficult situation after the revolution—especially when considering the retechnologization imposed by international accords in this area to which our country also adhered. This raises, however, another question mark: With whom do you conclude these contracts, what is his credibility, and what financial resources does he bring along as partner. The contract with the King company is an example in this respect. After two years, that is at this point, the company disappeared because the partner cannot pay any more. He has abandoned the ships that are burdened by debts. We have to pay these debts because we are a party in it. Otherwise we will be left without ships because creditors will put them up for auction to retrieve their money.

At this point, I cannot accuse anyone of ill will or anything of that kind. I just want to say the following: The partners who were chosen were neither the best ones, nor did they have appropriate financial resources. [passage omitted]

Minister Negritoiu Views Financial Problems

AU1108200293 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Aug 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with State Minister Misu Negritoiu, chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, by Gheorghe Cercelescu; place and date not given: "We Live Poorly Because We Are Afraid To Live Well"]

[Cercelescu] Mr. Minister, if we want to overcome current economic difficulties, we obviously need foreign financial help. However, precisely when we need them most, we are not able to conclude accords with international financial bodies. Is this a hopeless situation?

[Negritoiu] Romania considers its relations with the International Monetary Fund [IMF] very important. The postponement of the conclusion of the stand-by accord will not block economic reform, the way our media claims, it will merely make things more difficult to achieve. That is so because we and the IMF have not considered importing a reform program, but rather their financial support in the implementation of our own program, passed in parliament this spring. I have to point all these things out, because lately there has been a lot of speculation, again saying that the IMF is setting certain conditions that will make our lives even more difficult. But actually what we are paying now is the price of reform, the implementation of which calls for efforts and even sacrifice. The substantial drop, ever since October 1990, in average real income is therefore not a consequence of the accords concluded with the IMF, but rather one of the effects of reform.

If we had better programs than those in the package we are currently negotiating with the IMF, no one would keep us from implementing them. That is why, with or without the IMF, we are actually doing the same thing to establish market economy. For that purpose we have to achieve industrial restructuring, the liberalization of the exchange rate, and the adoption of an interest rate policy that can benefit the economy. Otherwise we will never be able to improve our standard of living. The most difficult problem currently facing Romania is inflation. Inflation is generated by high production costs, which in turn are caused by too high salaries for too little work, and by economic inefficiency. These are the real causes and we will have to deal with them. And it is better for us to do that with IMF support, in an atmosphere of openness and full international support, rather than rely just on ourselves. If we were to rely exclusively on our own resources, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for us to find the right direction within this ample and quite complicated transformation process.

[Cercelescu] What are the issues upon which no agreement has yet been reached with the IMF, and why?

[Negritoiu] All of those issues are a novelty in Romanian economy and society: inflation, budget deficit, and exchange rate. Our economy has not faced such phenomena for a very long time. The man in the street is not accustomed to having such problems and our experts are not sufficiently trained to deal with them. They have been making progress, but there is still a great deal they should learn before engaging in high precision analysis. They do not have any difficulty in identifying the phenomenon, but rather in accurately assessing its consequences. There are some language problems involved in this issue as well. For instance we say that the depreciation of the exchange rate causes inflation, whereas actually it is the other way round. Similarly, we thought that price hikes would eventually slow down and even stop as soon as all subsidies were cut and a value-added tax introduced. However, we underestimated the effect which salary indexations and negotiations on the new collective labor contracts would have on inflation. Over March and July 1993 real salaries have grown by 60 to 65 percent as compared to October 1990, although with the current state of our economy we cannot afford it. The only explanation is that salary indexation was higher than price increases, and this gave new impetus to inflation. The real problem is not how to control prices, as certain people are suggesting, but rather how to eliminate the factors causing the increase in prices.

[Cercelescu] What are, in you opinion, the main factors causing inflation and what do you think can be done to eliminate them?

[Negritoiu] In my opinion, we first have to accomplish business reform and place our industrial structures on a healthy foundation. Recently I held talks with employers and trade unions representatives in the machine building industry. During the talks I learned that only half of production capacities are really functioning. The other half is sitting idle, but not free of costs, since due to maintenance, amortization, and so on, it inflates the costs registered in the other, producing, half. The fact that restructuring has not been implemented has a serious impact on prices; it is artificially inflating them. Normally, such non-productive capacities would be isolated from the functioning ones and put at the disposal of private businessmen who could use them in the production of other goods.

Anyway, the restructuring process should have been completed by now, because the perpetuation of the current situation has other negative consequences as well. One of them is the increase in specific consumption per produced item. There are enterprises that consume 20 to 25 percent more energy than in 1989, owing solely to the fact that they did not renounce their non-productive capacities. Therefore it is no wonder that whereas industrial production has been continuously dropping over the past three years, our imports [consisting mainly in energy resources] have remained at the former level.

Another negative consequence is that whereas production capacities usage in the machine building industry has dropped by 50 percent, the number of employed personnel has decreased by only 20 percent. Who is paying the employees who are doing nothing? Unfortunately one cannot listen to one's heart when dealing with economic problems, because the measures would then not be efficient. And if one is not efficient one cannot support the people who really deserve it either. How can certain components afford to employ 20 or 30 percent more personnel than what is actually needed? Such companies either increase the costs as much as possible or they divert the financial resources they are granted. Instead of using them to make investments to increase their production and labor efficiency, they spend the money on salaries.

We need radical measures. Otherwise we run out of time and that will hurt us all. It is still better to have 1 or 2 million unemployed, to whom we could offer modest but acceptable living conditions, than have the same mass of people scattered all over our economy. Undeclared unemployment subjects our salary funds to extreme pressure. The people who are effectively working are not paid enough because they have to carry the burden of those who are not offered any work. Discontent is constantly mounting. The demands of trade unions are often met without economic justifications. This causes higher inflation and we all have to suffer because of that.

Vacaroiu, Prefects Discuss Harvesting Issue

AU1208140093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1158 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/8/1993—The premier was today in simultaneous contact with the prefects about harvesting. It appeared that 2.8 million hectares, that is 85 per cent of the 3.3. million hectares of cereal crops have been reaped so far. The premier indicated that the remaining proportion should be finished in the next two days.

Of great topicality for the state farms is the preparation of the tillable land for autumn ploughing, the harvesting of the maize, sun-flower and sugar beet crops. Also the intake of the outstanding 700,000 tonnes of cereals ROMCEREAL contracted with farms. ROMCEREAL, the National Grain Corporation, has stocked so far 1.5 million tonnes of wheat for consumption and 700,000 tonnes for seed. It also holds, for storage, 407,000 tonnes of wheat from private farmers.

The premier assessed that the domestic wheat production covered the integral requirements until the next crop, an aspect of vital importance considering the shortage of hard currency resources for wheat imports. He said the government would continue to allocate the 165 billion lei at low interest rates for the autumn farming season.

The county authorities were informed of the cease of the miners' strike and of the measures taken relative to the engine drivers' strike. To this effect, a request was lodged with the Supreme Court of justice for suspension of the strike, considered as illegal, and the relevant files submitted to the Public Ministry [as received] for redemption of damage caused by the engine drivers' previous strike, amounting to some 8 billion lei.

PSM Wings Moving Toward 'Confrontation'

AU1208173493 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 10 Aug 93 p 3

[Article by Aura Dobre: "PSM Is Still Searching for Its Identity"]

[Text] Immediately after December 1989, everything related to socialism was looked upon with skepticism and sometimes with hatred, thus reflecting the general state of morale of a population obsessed by years of years of socialist slogans and "comprehensively developed" socialist societies. Nevertheless, in spite of this prevailing mood, the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] made its entry in the first months of 1990, ready to face the disapproval of the electorate and try to eliminate the connections people made between the new Socialist Party and the old Communist one. It was obvious that this attempt was not easy at all, in view of the fact that the new party's president was none other than one of the prominent members of the former Political Executive Committee, namely Mr. Ilie Verdet. Some political commentators said that immediately after 1989 it was much easier to reestablish the historical parties—which brought along, or rather brought up again hopes that had been left behind somewhere in 1946—than to reestablish a party to continue socialist ideas. What the PSM leaders then said was that the party was trying to bring back to life the true socialist doctrine disseminated approximately 100 years ago in Romanian political life by the then Socialist Party of Labor, which boasted among its prominent members people such as [writer] Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea.

What the "young" socialists tried and are still trying to do is to free themselves from all nostalgic communist values, which are only pulling the party down or over to the far left of the still vacillating political landscape in our country. The new party's program documents and actions (which were more timid at the beginning of our democracy but are increasingly visible now) are considered to be "sincere and clear", maybe the only programs that were sufficiently corroborated by experts and prove that the PSM respects the current Constitution, the separation of powers in the state, and political pluralism. One of the party leaders recently said that "our attempt to recover socialist ideas and everything that was good and valuable in the socialist movement is the most honest and just thing that we can do."

Concerning the PSM's position vis-a-vis current events in Romania, it bears the imprint of an "honest" realism, to quote the terms used by the party leadership. Thus, the PSM considers itself a party representing the interests of the many, of "those who live off their salaries". In the interests of these people, the PSM is currently trying in Parliament to maintain its viewpoint, even though it does not always coincide with that of the ruling party, with which it jointly supports the government team led by Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu. As mentioned before, the PSM's political actions were rather weak from the very start. They were also hampered by the impossibility of the man in the street to separate the PSM and its leaders from the old Romanian Communist Party [PCR]. The anonymous electorate cannot accept the idea that the former reliable people of the former regime have turned overnight into the nation's "apostles". However, the perception seems to have changed of late, owing to the general decrease in living standards, price increases, low salaries, and the increase in unemployment.

It seems that things have changed in the party, then settled down somewhat over the past six months. After the last PSM plenary session, in spite of certain confusing statements, things began to take a certain shape and one was able to distinguish—albeit not all that clearly—the emergence of two wings in the party (something which is very fashionable in our recent political life). One is led by Ilie Verdet and the other one by Tudor Mohora. What is certain is that both wings support one thing: "In Romania, there is a socialist trend, which is increasing in strength." The monolithic idea, accepted in the first years after 1989, is currently being replaced by the idea of "accepting the members' personal opinions that do not lead to the party's dissolution." Although the struggle of ideas within the PSM has just begun to be felt, it is moving toward a confrontation at the next congress, scheduled to take place next year. It will then be decided whether the party remains left-wing, thus continuing the socialist line, or will return to its "memories" before December 1989.

Machine-Building Industry Official Views Strategy

AU1108163393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1511 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/8/1993—"To us it is important that the government should come up with a clear strategy at a macro-economic level", told weekly CAPITAL Marin Voinea, executive manager of the National Association of the Boards of Administration of Machine-Building. He opined that that would allow for people working in that sector of activity to "single out the main directions the state intends to develop and to comply with them". "We do not know how much of the machine-building capacity should be set aside for domestic order within the government's economic strategy", he added.

The executive manager also mentioned that that industry "was devised before 1989 to cope with a certain structure of domestic and foreign demand". So, 30 per cent of the production was meant for investment projects, while investments are currently almost null, bringing to a difficult situation the specialized enterprises that have either to revamp production or desist activity altogether because of the absence of outlets.

Marin Voinea cautions that after 1989 the machine-building industry has had also to face "a dramatic shrinking of outlets" on an external plane, especially because of the dismantlement of the council for mutual economic aid—the major market—and, on an internal plane, because of the diminishing purchasing power and the blockage with the economic agents. One more difficulty mentioned by Marin Voinea is generated by the desisting after 1989 of investments of national and strategic interest, that have generated blockage "in form of materials, products under execution and finished products", worth 179 billion lei "left in the administration of the economic agents for outstanding loans at increased interest rates". He also said there was hope that next September those loans be taken over as public debt.

Marin Voinea emphasized also the need for protection of the products turned out by the national industry of machine-building, assessing that "exports are not justified in all cases".

Orthodox Church Statistics on Denominations

AU1208135993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1050 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/8/1993—19,762,135 Orthodox believers are currently living in Romania from a population of 22,760,449, according to a January 1992 census. Presently some 16 religious denominations, most of them Christian, are recognized in Romania, which means that 15 religious denominations are operating for the religious freedom of some three million believers in Romania alongside Orthodox believers, several other denominations are enjoying religious freedom in Romania: 228,377 Uniates (Orthodox followers in Transylvania who, in the eighteenth century, under Austrian-Hungarian domination, have united with Rome to gain political and public rights); 5,000 Armenian Church believers; 31,914 old-rite Christians; 23,634 old-rite Orthodox faithful; 109,677 Baptists; 78,658 Seventh-Day Adventists; 220,051 Pentecostalists; 49,393 Christians according to the gospel; 801,577 Calvinists; 76,333 Unitarianists; 21,160 followers of the Synodo-Presbyterian Evangelical Church; 39,522 followers of Augsburg Confession Evangelical Church; 55,988 Muslims and 9,775 Mosaics. [passage omitted]

Presently some 34 theological faculties and institutes are operating in Romania, among which 15 Orthodox ones (Bucharest, Sibiu, Iasi, Cluj, Oradea, Arad, Pitesti, Alba Iulia, Constanta, Baia Mare, Craiova, Tirgoviste). Moreover, some 257 monastic establishments are currently operating under the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate, among which 173 monasteries.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 13 August

WA1308175293

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian leader Karadzic reportedly threatens West with terrorism, nuclear attacks in case of NATO air strikes; Karadzic spokesman calls statement fabrication ... Geneva peace talks suspended for three days ... Bosnian Serbs demand guarantee that Muslims will not take over remaining Serbian-held positions on Mount Igman ... Bosnian Army chief says Serbs installing antiaircraft missiles around Sarajevo.

DIPLOMATIC

KARADZIC THREATS DENIED (Vienna DER STANDARD, Vienna TV): In an interview with DER STANDARD at the Geneva peace talks, Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic threatened to "find enough Serbian heroes who would be prepared to blow up vital objects abroad" if NATO strikes Serbian positions around Sarajevo. Karadzic added that purchasing nuclear weapons would be "no problem" and that the Serbs "will really use everything" to defend themselves. Karadzic's spokesman later called the interview "a complete invention" by DER STANDARD. (AU1308074293, AU1208204293)

PEACE TALKS SUSPENDED (AFP): Bosnian peace conference spokesman announces that the talks have been postponed for three days. Bosnian President Izetbegovic said earlier that his conditions for ending his boycott of the talks, the complete withdrawal of Bosnian Serb forces from Mount Igman, have not been met. (AU1308134593, AU1208121093)

MILITARY

SERBS DEMAND GUARANTEES (Belgrade Radio): Having withdrawn from "eight of 12 points" on Mount Igman, Bosnian Serb forces say they will not turn over the remaining positions to UN forces until a "public guarantee" that Muslim troops will not return to the mountain is issued. (AU1308084493)

DELIC: SERBS INSTALLING MISSILES (AFP, Budapest NEPSZABADSAG): Bosnian Army Commander Delic says Serbs setting up "what appeared to be antiaircraft missiles" on Mount Igman "in order to act against air strikes." In an interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Bosnian Presidency spokesman Hajric says UN forces are examining satellite photos to determine whether Serbs have set up a "new missile unit" in Hadzici, just west of Sarajevo. (AU1208142593, AU1308134493)

Serb Army, UNPROFOR Chiefs Visit Mount Igman

LD1308110193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0909 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Bratunac, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of general staff of the republic of Srpska army and Brigadier General Vere Hayes, chief of general staff of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, together went to Mount Igman this morning, a TANJUG correspondent learned from the general staff of the republic of Srpska [VRS] today.

The two top ranking officers will gain an on-the-spot insight into the real situation on the mountain and details of the blue helmets deployment operation there, the VRS general staff says. The same source recalls that yesterday all VRS units withdrew from their positions on Mt. Igman to their positions as of 30 July, the day a cease-fire agreement for former Bosnia-Herzegovina was signed.

In this connection, the VRS general staff says the United Nations took over Serb positions on Mt. Bjelasnica three to four days earlier than on Mt. Igman.

At the moment blue helmets are deployed on eight out of 12 points, as suggested by the Serb side. UNPROFOR does not have sufficient members to take over all positions. It is precisely for that reason that Gen. Milovanovic demands that the UNPROFOR command offer public guarantees that the area from which the VRS units withdrew yesterday will not be retaken by Muslim formations.

More details about today's mission and agreement of the two generals, Milovanovic and Hayes, will be disclosed this afternoon when they are due back from Mt. Igman, the VRS general staff says.

Belgrade Radio Reports Withdrawal

AU1308084493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Members of the army of the republic of Srpska have continued withdrawing from Mt. Igman and giving over their positions to the peace forces. In a letter he has sent to the UNPROFOR Command, General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of the general staff of the army of republic of Srpska, asked for a public guarantee that Muslim formations will not return to Mounts Igman and Bjelasnica when Serbian positions are given over to peacekeeping forces.

'No Signs' of Withdrawal

AU1308091893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] As the information service of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports, there are no signs of the Serbo-Montenegrin occupying force withdrawing on the Igman battlefield. Upon inspecting the positions, we realized that the enemy was fortifying on the lines he had reached. In nearly all points of contact, the enemy was exhibiting provocative infantry arms fire to which the defenders of Igman were not responding. [Word indistinct] UN military observers also witnessed this.

The combat activities on the [word indistinct] Igman front are mostly limited to infantry arms attacks, however. The troops are not moving out of their shelters. Also, the intensity of these activities is not the same as during previous days.

UN Commander on Withdrawal

LD1208163693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, August 12 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serbs withdraw their logistics units from Mount Igman southwest of Sarajevo and their combat troops will also withdraw during the day, said UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Commanding Officer French general Jean Cot on Thursday [12 August].

Speaking at a press conference in Zagreb, General Cot said that he informed Co-Chairmen of the former Yugoslavia conference Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg of the evidence that Bosnian Serbs continued to withdraw from Igman after an apparent standstill, says REUTERS.

General Cot said that UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina General Francis Briquemont was in Italy on Thursday to discuss possible air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions with NATO officers, the main topic of the discussions being coordination of NATO pilots with the U.N. ground troops aimed at reducing the possibility of innocent casualties to the minimum.

General Cot also said that he requested U.N. Secretary General Butros Butros-Ghali to intervene with the U.S. Government to move a U.S. field hospital from Zagreb Airport to Sarajevo.

UNPROFOR Sarajevo spokesman Barry Frewer said on Thursday that four UNPROFOR platoons were deployed on Mounts Igman and Bjelasnica from which Bosnian Serb troops were withdrawing, adding that the withdrawal was not completed and some Bosnian Serb troops were still in the mountains.

In spite of the UNPROFOR officials' reports, Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic continues to boycott the Geneva talks because, as he claimed, Bosnian Serbs did not withdraw from Igman and Bjelasnica.

Izetbegovic's foreign minister Haris Silajdzic, who keeps advocating a military option for Bosnia-Herzegovina, went to the length of saying in Geneva that Bosnian Serbs were not withdrawing from Igman but were mounting rocket-launching systems there.

The Bosnian Serb side repeatedly confirmed its willingness to withdraw its troops from the mountains but it several times warned that the speed of the withdrawal depended exclusively on UNPROFOR's ability to take over the positions left by Bosnian Serb troops.

Mladic Explains Igman Withdrawal

LD1208161693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—Lt. Col. Gen. Ratko Mladic, chief of general staff of the republic of Srpska army, today said that the cause of the present disagreement over Igman and Bjelasnica is "the UN Protection Forces' [UNPROFOR] inability to deploy sufficient forces to take over strategic positions" on these mountains, and prevent "a possible abuse of the republic of Srpska army forces' withdrawal from these areas."

"We handed over the most important positions on Mounts Igman and Bjelasnica to UNPROFOR," said Mladic in a statement over the telephone for Politika radio and television, mentioning, as an example, "the famous relay station" on Bjelasnica's highest point.

The republic of Srpska army commander recalled that his agreement with Francis Briquemont, UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, regarding UNPROFOR's intensive patrolling of communication lines from Hadzici, Hrasnica, and Vojkovici toward Mt. Igman, is already being implemented.

The Muslim side, said Mladic, "is trying in every possible way to place Bjelasnica and Igman on the world scene," which suits "some influential politicians in the world who, in this way, are trying to conceal what for them is the most dangerous thing—the war between the Croats and the Muslims in central Bosnia and in other areas, especially in Mostar, Konjic, Jablanica, Gornji Vakuf..."

"This whole thing is a premeditated media ploy and I have already told UNPROFOR's commander in chief that this media war can no longer be tolerated, that the most outrageous lies are being concocted, as those broadcast by the relay station on Mt. Bjelasnica."

Mladic nevertheless expressed the hope that these "monstruous information crimes" will subside and that the international community will alter its behavior toward the Serb people who "have done nothing to deserve such an intolerant and disrespectful attitude."

Speaking about the military agreement signed yesterday by the commanders of all three sides in the conflict, Mladic said that the Serb side will "absolutely honor it, because peace is the only solution for all the interested parties."

"We are aware of this, especially because it was the Serb people who were attacked, and war was declared on them. We did not attack anybody or declare war on anyone," the commander of the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska army, said in an interview to RTV Politika.

Delic: Serbs Installing Antiaircraft Missiles Around Sarajevo

AU1208142593 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 12 (AFP) - The commander of Moslem-led Bosnian Army charged Thursday [12 August] that Serb forces were setting up what appeared to be anti-aircraft missiles [AAA] on a strategic mountain overlooking Sarajevo, to hit back in the event of NATO air strikes.

"We have information that on (Mount) Igman some rocket systems are installed, probably anti-aircraft missiles, in order to act maybe against air strikes," General Rasim Delic told a news conference here.

The United States warned Wednesday that NATO forces would carry out air strikes against the Serbs if they failed to withdraw as agreed from Igman and another peak, Bjelesnica.

A U.N. spokesman here earlier said Serb forces had conducted the first stage of a withdrawal from the two heights. However, he said "sizeable forces" remained on Igman and some forces might be redeploying elsewhere on the same peak.

Delic said "the withdrawal has not been done completely" and Serbs were "still in contact with (the) Bosnian Army."

He said "some of the movements in depth do not mean withdrawal but just regrouping."

Serb General Gvero Views Situation Around Sarajevo

AU1208135693 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Aug 93 p 2

[Telephone interview with General Milan Gvero, of the Serbian Military Headquarters in Bosnia, by Nandor Pilcz in Belgrade; date not given: "We Take Care Not To Be Surprised"]

[Text] Are the press agency reports on Serbian forces returning to Bjelasnica and penetrating some Sarajevo districts true?—we asked General Milan Gvero, member of the Headquarters of the Bosnian Serbs. NEPSZABADSAG succeeded in contacting him on the telephone from Belgrade.

[Gvero] These are false rumors. Our forces have not returned to Bjelasnica and we are not approaching Sarajevo either. I admit that there are changes of military personnel under way in some positions, namely fresh forces are replacing exhausted troops. Those who come up with such fabrications only see the arriving troops, but they do not see the departing ones. I would call this bad intentions.

[Pilcz] However, the fighting is not subsiding. The Serbian side claimed recently that they halted their withdrawal from Igman because of an attack carried out by Muslim infantry....

[Gvero] That is true. The Muslims attacked us with infantry and artillery weapons. Their intention is to seize positions evacuated by us, namely points from which it is possible to control the Sarajevo front, instead of the UN troops. As for us, we have fulfilled the agreement to its last letter.

[Pilcz] Does that mean that there are no more Serbian troops on Bjelasnica and Igman?

[Gvero] No, there are no more Serbian troops there.

[Pilcz] What about your tanks and artillery? Have these also been withdrawn or are they controlled by UNPROFOR?

[Gvero] Our troops have withdrawn from places where UN troops arrived and took control.

[Pilcz] According to our information, Serbian forces, as well as UN troops, are camouflaging their artillery pieces and are trying to hide them in the Sarajevo area. Does that mean that the possibility of an air strike has not been ruled out?

[Gvero] We are not deploying forces and we are not deploying new units on the front; we are not carrying out any special activity with our weapons because we do not consider this to be necessary. We are only taking care not to be surprised from any side.

[Pilcz] In your opinion, do the Muslims have enough power to threaten the Serbian positions?

[Gvero] Many people think that the Muslims are weak and they have limited amounts of weapons. However, this is not true. They have enough men and weapons. Because they are avoiding a political solution, we are forced to take defensive measures.

[Pilcz] Is it possible that, as a result of future negotiations, Bjelasnica and Igman, these two strategic positions, will be taken by the Muslims?

[Gvero] I cannot say anything about this in this way. Politicians will draw the internal borders of the Bosnian federation.

[Pilcz] Could any possible intervention upset the Geneva peace process?

[Gvero] I am convinced that there is not a single sensible reason for any intervention of foreign troops. Foreign military intervention would throw the possibility of peace very far away and the war would spread like wildfire. Intervention would not solve any problem in this region. I hope that reason will prevail in those who decide on this matter.

Mazowiecki Tours Scenes of Massacres in Sarajevo

AU1208162493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Report by Dzevad Dziho from Sarajevo]

[Text] [Special UN human rights envoy] Tadeus Mazowiecki had a chance today to see for himself the horrendous act of genocide that the Serbian aggressor has perpetrated during the past 17 months in Dobrinja, the largest district in Sarajevo.

Records show that 485 civilians have been killed and 5,480 have been wounded in Dobrinja since the outbreak of war. Even now hardly a day passes without new sniper victims or aggressor's shells. During the last two months, the aggressor has perpetrated two massacres in Dobrinja—at the football match and in the water queue—which can be cited among the most monstrous acts of genocide known so far. Depriving the civilian population of water, electricity, and gas is most certainly a crude violation of human rights. Mazowiecki listened to these facts with great attention and promised they would all be presented to the Special Commission for War Crimes.

Ismet Hadzic, commander of the Fifth Motorized Brigade, reminded the esteemed guest of the scene that took place in the vicinity of the airport just over a year ago, when—according to still incomplete information—the aggressors slit the throats of some 70 people and deported almost 2,000 to concentration camps. Mazowiecki was particularly interested in the time when Dobrinja was completely blocked off and said that the multiethnic character of Sarajevo was best confirmed here.

During his short visit, Mazowiecki toured the Dobrinja hospital, a school, the bakery, and one of the 17 Dobrinja graveyards.

Representative to UN Criticizes West, Russia

PM1208160693 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 12 Aug 93 pp 4-5

[Interview with Muhamed Sacirbey, Bosnian permanent representative to the United Nations, by Arturo Zampaglione in New York; date not given]

[Text] New York—"Serbian terrorism will take revenge on Italy if the peninsula is used as an aircraft carrier for NATO bombing raids. But the Italians have no choice: It would be worse for them to live next door to a Serbia which, after conquering Sarajevo, would feel invincible and continue to expand." Those are the words of

Muhamed Sacirbey, ambassador to the United Nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and [Bosnian] President Izetbegovic's eminence grise.

Very young—only 37—with a master's degree from Columbia University and a brilliant career in the world of U.S. finance, Sacirbey is sure to become one of his country's leaders... if Bosnia survives. LA REPUBBLICA interviewed him in his office opposite the Glass Palace [UN headquarters].

[Zampaglione] Ambassador, Bosnia has been calling for a NATO air strike against Serbian positions for some time. Will it take place? If so, when?

[Sacirbey] Probably not in the next few hours, but it certainly will take place: Because sooner or later the Serbs will begin to defy the West again, relying on others' cowardice and the splits in the world, without realizing that this time there is much determination in Washington.

[Zampaglione] Will the bombing endanger the blue helmets?

[Sacirbey] Perhaps. But then we are talking about 9,000 soldiers sent to help 4.5 million Bosnians, and if there are threats against them, we must face up to them, not use them as an excuse for not acting. Anyway, the blue helmets' position remains extremely delicate: They could soon become the last obstacle to Serbian conquest of Sarajevo.

[Zampaglione] How many civilian casualties will the allied air attack cause?

[Sacirbey] Not many, possibly a few dozen, because the Serbs' positions are in areas which are not densely populated. What I do fear is that the Serbs may take revenge by attacking the Muslims with mortar fire.

[Zampaglione] UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali will have the last word. How will he act?

[Sacirbey] He may bow to London's wishes and delay the attack, but I do not think he will impose a veto.

[Zampaglione] What if the bomb attacks are not enough to persuade the Serbs?

[Sacirbey] A new Western escalation will be necessary and the Bosnians will have to be rearmed, putting an end to those sanctions which do not stop the Serbs receiving arms today but which have rendered us Bosnians defenseless. So far Belgrade has had no dangerous adversaries.

[Zampaglione] Everybody claims to be on the Bosnian people's side, but who are your real enemies outside the former Yugoslavia?

[Sacirbey] Russia, Greece, Britain. Boris Yeltsin is making a miscalculation in his domestic policy. In Athens, religious reasons prevail over reasons of justice. And everywhere we read that the Russians and Greeks are secretly helping the Serbs get around the embargo.

[Zampaglione] Why is Britain on the list of bad guys?

[Sacirbey] It has contributed to the legitimation of Serbian aggression against Bosnia. It has set a dangerous precedent, particularly for the dictators stirring in the ashes of the former Soviet empire and other parts of the world.

[Zampaglione] Are you criticizing John Major?

[Sacirbey] He imitates Chamberlain, forgetting Churchill. And there are those in his entourage who think that a greater Serbia could counter German, Italian, or Turkish influence in the Balkans.

[Zampaglione] How will history remember European mediator Lord Owen?

[Sacirbey] I said it before: like Jack Kevorkian, i.e. the "suicide doctor" of international diplomacy. Owen has not spoken to me since that day.

[Zampaglione] Some people say that the Bosnians have lost the war, that they must surrender. Why don't you?

[Sacirbey] This is not a war, it is aggression, genocide. We cannot surrender, we would be massacred.

[Zampaglione] So the only solution is the Geneva negotiating table?

[Sacirbey] Yes. But we should have no illusions on that score either: Even after a diplomatic agreement we cannot trust Belgrade's signature; the West will have to continue to support Bosnia. The Serbs will never agree—unless they are forced to—to having a thorn in their side called independent Bosnia, a victim of their genocide and one which will never tire of asking for justice.

[Zampaglione] Little Irma may be saved in a London hospital.

[Sacirbey] I too was moved by that story. But be careful: There is the danger that one story may make us forget the tragic plight of other Bosnian children who are dying every day. Unfortunately, as the days go by, we are noticing a certain tiredness on the part of the West, as the drop in aid confirms.

[Zampaglione] Ambassador, you live in Manhattan, safe from mortars and hunger. What do you feel when you see the pictures from Bosnia?

[Sacirbey] A deep sense of guilt. Sometimes I wonder whether it would not be right, even as a gesture, for me to give up my diplomatic post and take up a gun. I love life, but if you have an ideal, you must be prepared even to give your life for it.

Delic Sees 'Realistic' Chance of Intervention Lifting Siege

AU1208151593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Report by Nada Rajkovic on the news conference by Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, in Sarajevo on 12 August—recorded]

[Text] [Rajkovic] Most of today's news conference was devoted to the recently signed agreement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croatian Defense Council, and the aggressor's side. Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command, said this about this agreement:

[Delic] The agreement signed is a part of the general agreement that will come into force the minute the other principles on the internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina are adopted. The agreement of 30 July should have provided normal conditions for the talks on the organization of the state. [Words indistinct] daily meetings by the joint commission, at which violations of cease-fires are analyzed. I repeat, the mechanism of control has not been built in, so the agreement of 30 July should have provided normal conditions for the talks in Geneva.

The agreement that was signed yesterday morning after 18 hours of work is open to revision by the politicians who are negotiating in Geneva. That means, if they come up with an agreement, then the military agreement will be changed accordingly, in the sense of the internal political organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It does not prejudice the state organization, and it comprises everything that has been agreed in principle about the political organization. It will come into force the minute it is signed by the Presidency.

[Rajkovic] Reporters were particularly interested in whether Commander Delic wanted military intervention, and whether it would help lift the siege of Sarajevo.

[Delic] I believe that this intention is serious when it comes to the attitude of the U.S. Administration, but I fear the labyrinth of decision-making in the UN Security Council. There is the right of veto in the Security Council, and Butrus-Ghali is to make the final decision, one who has not observed a single decision that he himself has (?helped adopt). The question is whether he will give the go-ahead for such an operation.

So I believe in the good intentions of the United States, but I am not sure that the rest of the [word indistinct]. I would love to be wrong.

As for intervention, I think that all that is needed is to show good will, but that good will would have to be serious in its reaction to certain situations. After that the developments would be different. It is a realistic possibility that an intervention of sorts would lift the siege of the city and completely reverse the military and political situation on the Bosnia-Herzegovina fronts.

[Rajkovic] Asked whether the Army would accept the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Delic said that the Army would accept any decision made by the relevant bodies, and added:

[Delic] As a Bosnian primarily, and a Muslim, because I have to declare myself a member of some nation, I would like to live only in a multiethnic Bosnia, and I believe that we will build it regardless of the efforts made by the world to destroy it. Whether it will cover the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that we do not know, but we would like that to happen as these are historical borders that have been in place for a thousand years.

[Rajkovic] Stjepan Siber and Jovan Divjak, deputies to the chief of the General Staff, spoke about the difficulties they faced during the negotiations, and about the organization of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Croatian Leader Boban on Geneva Talks

LD1208220093 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 12 Aug 93

["Highlights" of an interview with Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban by editor Marian Pakos on 12 August; place not given—recorded, in Serbo-Croatian fading into Slovak translation]

[Text] [Pakos] What is the Croatian delegation's stance at the Geneva talks?

[Boban] The Croatian side unequivocally wants [word indistinct] to hold talks and solve the military conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina through political means, applying the principles of equal rights for all three nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The stances of other nations and their representatives are different. Mr. Izetbegovic, president of the Muslim nation, does not want to hold talks and is delaying talks and inventing conditions. However, it only through talks that it will be possible to remove issues which any of the sides can present as conditions.

We, the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, very often find ourselves under attack by Muslim soldiers. So far the Muslim army has ethnically cleansed more than 50,000 Croats and killed more than 3,500 civilians. However, this is not our condition, as it is talks that should end this genocide. [sentence as heard]

[Pakos] Have you already reached an agreement on the fixed borders between the Croatian, Serbian, and Muslim parts?

[Boban] There are only a few things still to be clarified between the Croatian and Serbian sides, as the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has not been mixed too much with the Serbian nation. On the other hand, we have enough problems with the Muslim border within the union of the republics of Bosnia for the simple reason that no other principles are being accepted but one: the principle of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina as a Muslim state. We want to overcome these differences through talks, but the Muslim side continues to refuse talks.

[Pakos] In your view, what was the role of the United Nations, NATO, and the EC in the emergence of the conflict and in solving the conflict?

[Boban] The UN organization, the EC, NATO, and other international political, military, government, and economic officials in effect demonstrated only by words but not in deeds that they wanted the war to be resolved and that they wanted to make a distinction between those waging the attack and those defending themselves.

At this moment there appears to be more determination that NATO and the United Nations should exert political pressure on the Serbs through their decisions because, on the one hand, the territories annexed by force cannot be proclaimed as the right of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while on the other hand all the Muslims' illusions that someone from the outside will turn up and present them with a state should be dashed. Another way of stopping this could be just small-scale NATO exercises.

Precisely at the time when the Serbs carried out unbelievable crimes by increasing the war against Bosnia-Herzegovina, precisely four months ago, when the Muslims began attacking Croatian territories, the world was watching the situation in a very conciliatory way. Since nothing has was done to punish the perpetrator at that time, I do not believe that it will be done now.

Muslims Reportedly Attacking Croats in Kiseljak, Fojnica

LD1308101293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Report by corrspondent Zdenko Vranjes]

[Text] Around 0700 this morning, the Muslim army launched fresh attacks on Croatian villages in the Kiseljak and Fojnica area. Infantry onslaughts by the Muslim forces were supported by incessant shelling of Croatian Defense Council positions and villages. This area had been peaceful last night before these attacks were launched.

Muslim army was pounding Novi Travnik and its defense lines from mortars and artillery guns all night. Over 50 shells hit the very center of Novi Travnik itself.

Following mortar and artillery duels yesterday evening, Mostar spent a night with intensive infantry fighting along the urban front line and in northern parts near Bijelo Polje. The town has been relatively peaceful this morning.

UN Commander Wants U.S. Hospital Moved to Sarajevo

AU1208133293 Paris AFP in English 1311 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 12 (AFP)—The commander of UN peacekeeping forces in ex-Yugoslavia asked Thursday [12 August] for the U.S. military hospital here to be moved to Sarajevo, saying this would add credibility to the threat of NATO air strikes.

General Jean Cot, commander of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), told a news conference in the Croatian capital Zagreb that he had asked UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali "to contact the U.S. Government urgently to obtain the hospital's transfer."

Cot added that he peronally would "assure the security and logistic support" for the operation.

Moving the hospital, currently based at Zagreb airport, "would lend credibility to the threat of strikes by NATO forces" against Serb positions on two mountains outside Sarajevo and "quieten the increasing number of people who consider it's easier to brandish the air strike threat when one doesn't have any soldiers on the ground."

The reference was to U.S. forces, which are not present in Sarajevo.

It would also be a significant advantage because there "would be more wounded to treat" in the event of air strikes.

NATO has threatened air strikes against the Serb forces if they fail to withdraw from the heights and ease their stranglehold on the Bosnian capital.

Currently it is the French who carry out most medical treatment in Sarajevo, Cot said.

Ukrainian UNPROFOR Member Killed, Three Wounded

LD1108151393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 11 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—One member of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] was killed while another three were wounded today in eastern Bosnia, on territory under Muslim control, TANJUG has learned at the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska's army.

Lieutenant Colonel Viktor Slivni of the peacekeeping forces' Ukrainian battalion lost his life, while two of the wounded men from the same contingent are officers. The wounded men were immediately evacuated to the republic of Srpska army's hospital, where medics are now struggling to save their lives.

In a statement to TANJUG, the deputy commander of the republic of Srpska army, Major General Milan

Gvero, specified that the "tragic incident took place this morning at 1050 hours in the Boksanica region, between Rogatica and Zepa."

The incident occurred in one of the six safe havens, which should have been demilitarized several months ago. The demilitarization operation never materialized because Muslim forces are violating the UN resolution by persistently refusing to surrender their arms.

"The circumstances under which the tragic incident occurred are being investigated," Gvero said. He pointed out that "the location of the incident is such that we should not discount the possibility that the Muslim side might accuse the Serbs of the attack."

"It has become common practice that attacks always take place when negotiations start moving in a favorable direction," Gvero recalled.

The Serbs have been threatened with air strikes for several weeks now, at the insistence of Washington and with the support of NATO. This is in fact an act of retaliation, because the Serbs have been accused one-sidedly of being the sole party threatening UNPROFOR in Bosnia. At the same time, the fact is being ignored that it has not yet been registered that the Serb forces have been responsible for the deaths of UNPROFOR members, while, for instance, one Spanish peacekeeper was killed and 17 were wounded during the last Croat attack on Jablanica on 30 July.

Abdic Claims SDA Conspiring for His Removal

AU1208061193 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 93 pp 6, 7

[Interview with Fikret Abdic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, given to Studio 99 radio station in Rijeka; date not given: "Alija's Agents Want To Eliminate Me!"]

[Text] Even the last remaining independent media structures in Sarajevo are succumbing. The current Sarajevo authorities were using various repressive methods to extinguish them, and in recent times they took radical measures to finally stifle them. The most famous of the independent media, the independent daily BH DANI and independent Studio 99 radio station, have been deprived of any chance of continuing with their work. For more than one and a half months the latest issue of BH DANI has been blocked in OSLOBODJENJE—Oko printing house, although the technical conditions for printing it exist; in the case of Studio 99, its transmitter has been taken away. These two were quite dedicated and democratically oriented, inasmuch as possible in the existing war conditions in Sarajevo, and they also contributed very much to breaching the information blockade by giving space and time to, in the opinion of Sarajevo autocrats, a great number of ill-suited and anathemized political personalities. Who is, actually, ill-suited according to the criteria of those authorities? It will be enough to say that the central state media are accessible only to Ejup Ganic, Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, naib reis [Muslim religious title] Mustafa Ceric, Rasim Delic, and a narrow circle of Izetbegovic's devotees.

The real reason for the abolition of the independent media was in both cases an announced interview with Fikret Abdic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The editorial team of BH DANI decided to bring out the interview with Abdic, originally having been given to weekly DANAS, which made Mahmutcehajic, chief ideologist of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], absolutely furious. What happened with Studio 99? In the latest issue of DANAS, its director and editor in chief Adil Kulenovic stated: "Without any explanation, on 17 April this year Studio 99 received an official letter from the Radio-Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina [RTVBH], informing us that the contract on utilization of the transmitter had been canceled. Thereafter comes a group of people from the RTVBH led by director Mufid Memija, who was appointed to pursue an inflexible editorial policy, and removes the transmitter. The direct reason for such an intervention was the announced interview with Abdic."

For the readers of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA we obtained the exclusive right to publish this interview, so they will have the opportunity to judge for themselves what made Izetbegovic and his followers so anxious.

[Studio 99] We are now in Rijeka, in an exclusive interview with Abdic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. How would you comment on the latest SDA statement?

[Abdic] I am not concerned with a statement made by some faction of the SDA, because, as reis Selimoski himself comments, we deal here with a group of people who want to effect a coup, rather than with some party, or any legal branch of it. Those people lost touch with their membership long time ago, so they are not able to find any foundation for any of the questions raised in that denouncement.

Ganic—Self-Proclaimed Vice President

[Studio 99] I am not able to recall the entire statement, but I think you have been denounced as a traitor of interests of the Muslim people. Does not this allegation remind you of some earlier time, when you were framed in a similar way?

[Abdic] The people in the aforementioned branch of the SDA were selected in such a way that gives them no right to denounce anybody, particularly not Fikret Abdic, as a traitor of the Muslim people. Unfortunately, they know too little and are too insufficiently occupied with the problems of the Muslim people to be able to make such judgments. Which is to say, the issue is about an unserious and dissenting group within the SDA. At the SDA convention I also said the Muslim people did not deserve to have such a bad leadership. The statement by that fraction only confirmed that the SDA is in a serious crisis. The top leadership of the party acts directly against interests of the party, and above all against interests of the Muslim people.

[Studio 99] The statement also questions the justifiability of your leaving Sarajevo and going to the Bihac region, which is referred to as to an act of treason. Where have you been and what have you done in the recent time? A small detail for your better insight: Even when you did address the public of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the state media regularly kept silent about it.

[Abdic] That question is very important, and illustrates the entire debacle of political moves made by the leadership of the SDA. Basically, the SDA barely communicates with the people; the only communication consists of breezy assessments by the state-run media, which is under dominant control of that leadership. If somebody in the RTVBH, OSLOBODJENJE, or VECERNJE NOVINE happened to have a different opinion, those people would not be at those posts anymore, they would simply disappear overnight. That subversive group within the SDA buys human souls, censors information, and disregards the fundamental principles of the party, thereby also the interests of the Muslim people. They base their assessments on rumors, gossip, intrigue, and various irresponsible statements made by individuals. For instance, Ganic, self- proclaimed vice-president of the Presidency, stated that I ought to resume the job in Sarajevo, as though I have not already been performing for nine months a very important and equally dangerous job in the Bihac region, which has more than 300,000 inhabitants. Before I left for Bihac on the 6th of July last year, I submitted to the Presidency a very comprehensive analysis on the situation in that region. Izetbegovic personally wrote to me that he had studied my analysis very thoroughly, and he approved my transfer to the Bihac region. Unfortunately this area of Bosnia-Herzegovina has not been treated as an integral and very important part of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also, if you will, as an example of commendable organization of civil and military life. Instead, there followed much disinformation and denunciations regarding my leaving Sarajevo, to which I have moral obligations as a town that suffers unbelievably and in which, unfortunately, I am not able to work since I am in the Bihac region. That is to say, I left for Bihac quite legally, with the approval of the Presidency, to perform my job, rather than to make irresponsible statements like Ganic and people of his kind do, putting the Muslim people in a more and more difficult position. Besides, as opposed to other members of the Presidency, I submitted a very comprehensive report on the activities I performed during those nine months. However, it seems that certain members of the Presidency care more about Ganic's irresponsible statements. Basing their conclusions on his statements, they decided at the 201st session that I should resume my job in Sarajevo. I guess they consider other regions in Bosnia- Herzegovina not so important.

Besides, I know the state-run media in Sarajevo have been turning a deaf ear to any of my statements. I have a satellite phone, I also have a telefax, and I am at present in all other media except that of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are totally ignoring me. Such a media disqualification of my person is as a consequence of efforts by a sector of the SDA to politically discredit me. I tried to avoid the conflict among Muslim members of the Presidency. It is well-known that in the elections Izetbegovic and myself were SDA candidates for the Presidency, while the third Muslim, Ganic, was nominated as a Yugoslav. Now the situation is reversed: given all the problems brought about by the war, the people simply forgot who was whose candidate. They have been given the impression that only Izetbegovic and Ganic are representatives of the Muslim people, even as these two are absorbed in attempts to discredit me, saying I am the traitor of the Muslim people. However, I am not so susceptible to such accusations—even Bolshevik accusations are better concocted than these— and I already succeeded once in upsetting such plans, together with the entire former state system. Today, despite a difficult and dramatic situation in the state, 10,000 hirelings are being paid for from funds provided by Bosnian aid, their sole task being to discredit my authority and downgrade my popularity rating. Which is to say, some top officials are misusing state funds established to aid all the peoples of Bosnia- Herzegovina, to finance their private projects. I am personally not afraid because I know that the world does not have the wherewithal to finance such lies and create a bad image of me among the people, but I do demand that a report on what happened with those funds be presented, so that such exploitations may be uncovered. I am the only Muslim official able to show by his deeds that he really did something for the people. Izetbegovic, Ganic, and other officials have nothing to show except mere words. And even those words do not have continuity, because one moment they support one idea for a state, and the next minute they support another idea, and after the sixth version they know no longer where they are, or what they should stand for. I have my accomplishments to speak for me, and I follow the same principle even now, in war.

I Saved Bihac From Hunger

[Studio 99] There have been many accusations at your expense that you endangered the authority of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina by introducing foreign currencies in the region of Bihac as official currencies. There have also been political allegations concerning your aspirations after separating the Bihac region from Bosnia- Herzegovina.

[Abdic] Such allegations have been made mostly by certain members of the Presidency, ministers appointed by the SDA, partisans in the National Bank or the Revenue Office. I have been accused of invalidating the Yugoslav dinar, while they did nothing themselves. When I came to Bihac, I found a situation where the exchange rate rose by 100 percent within five days. Being an internationally recognized expert, I knew that in such circumstances we would be selling all our goods for worthless Yugoslav dinars, thereby enabling the people from the so-called Serbian Krajinas, who have large amounts of Yugoslav dinars, to get hold of our goods, later reselling those goods to our citizens at prices ten times as high as they were originally. We therefore directly prevented smuggling and other crimes. I also proposed to our government that the old currency be replaced with a new one. Of course, they did not follow my advice and ordered the new money, which has been blocked in Zagreb because of road-blockages. In such a situation, the only thing to do was to introduce the German mark as the official currency. By such a step I made possible the survival of the entire region of Bihac; I saved the people from starvation. The next step was opening a special corridor for food and other supplies. In a very short period hunger was replaced with a fully stable situation. I have been reproached for my moves because it is obvious that somebody will have to take responsibility for the situation in Sarajevo, to answer the question of why the town in which the Presidency, the government, and the parliament are not supplied with basic provisions. The responsible individuals say it is because of the Serbian siege. The enemy belt encircling the region of Bihac is 55 kilometers wide, while the belt around Sarajevo is between 16 and 30 kilometers wide. Those responsible persons could have arranged for a special corridor with the help of a UN peacekeeping contingent, just as we arranged for a corridor with the French UN soldiers. However, the responsible persons in Sarajevo created no preconditions for such an arrangement, they were even complaining about blue helmets, from time to time even demanding their pullout whenever any of Izetbegovic's men found it expedient.

Instead of following the Bihac example, their main goal was to provoke the animosity of Sarajevo citizens who were justifiably irritated by the irregular supplies, directing it toward 308,000 beleaguered people in the Bihac region. Precisely here lies the major problem of the Muslim people: Instead of leading people in the right direction, its leaders blame one another for their own failures. This is the essence of my incessant criticisms, which they misunderstand. The leadership cannot identify with the party membership or with the Muslim people. The Muslim people should persuade their officials to finally start telling the truth and confess what they did, instead of blaming and framing others. In the SDA statement those officials wonder what I was doing with Biljana Plavsic [former Serbian representative on Bosnian Presidency] in Bijeljina. I went there together with Jerko Doko, former defense minister, and representatives of the CSS [expansion not known] Tuzla, and I was almost forced by Arkan's [Zeljko Raznjatovic] men to lie down in the mud. I refused to do that, saying I was on the peace mission as a member of the Presidency, and had come there to see what was going on. Neither Ganic nor Izetbegovic dared go there.

The SDA Executive Committee issues statements although it has no legitimacy. If the members of the Main and Executive Committees of the SDA had been asked what should be done in Bihac, we would already have had a war against the Croats, we would have had a war against everybody, we would not have had supplies but a crisis and chaos. I have been accused of having presidential aspirations, that is actually fabricated by Izetbegovic's people in the party, in the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and so forth. The primary SDA ideologist is Mahmutcehajic, and Izetbegovic will one day have to answer why a man who has never been a member of that party, nor ever been chosen in the elections, became the main party ideologist. He founded an intelligence service within the SDA and installed it in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mahmutcehajic is the energy minister and as far as he is concerned the people may starve, because he is absorbed in spying around and orchestrating the removals of certain people, above all myself. That service has its people throughout the world, many of them stationed in Zagreb, and recently a logistics center was opened in Rijeka. Ragib Merdjanjic, Mahmutcehajic's man assigned to monitor my activities in Rijeka is posted there. Now they are doing that to me, and tomorrow, following the same illegal procedure, they will be doing it to other people.

Izetbegovic Is Not the Head of the State

[Studio 99] Your statements will most probably elicit many arguments....

[Abdic] I think I should have been much more straightforward earlier. The citizens of Sarajevo and listeners of Studio 99 in particular have the right to the whole truth. I did not intend to make that truth public so soon, keeping in mind that such a move may only cause greater confusion among the weary citizens, however, now I see that the political speculations pursued by the leadership are without end. I think it is very important for Bosnia-Herzegovina to have an information center. Of course, I am aware those people will try to hinder that. There was a very obvious example recently of Izetbegovic's mobilizing the Bosnian Army for his own ehds, and against somebody else's idea. Following the orders of Izetbegovic and Ganic, Rasim Delic, commander in chief of the Bonsian Army, sent a letter, designated a military secret, to all army headquarters, then to all the subordinate units. That letter humiliates me and my role in the negotiating process, requiring the soldiers to persevere in the fight for a sovereign and integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. The letter was also sent to lord Owen and Stoltenberg. As many as 100,000 soldiers were misinformed and deceived by that letter, saying I was partitioning Bosnia-Herzegovina in Geneva. It is really about time that it be openly stated that the decisions of the Presidency, the Executive Committee of the SDA, the General Staff of the Bosnian Army, and the entire armed forces are in fact Izetbegovic's decisions. I am quite familiar with such a strategy, and after I told him he should not hide behind all those state institutions, he starts with attacks on my personality. I do not aspire to his position because he started the whole thing, and he should bring it to an end. Izetbegovic has frozen his function in the SDA only formally. The crucial problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not whether Izetbegovic will remain president, but whether the Presidency as a collective head of the state will function. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is quite difficult, and demands our revision. It is not Izetbegovic who is the head of the state, although he managed to deceive the entire international public into believing so, but the Presidency. The second so-called head, Ganic, proclaimed himself vice president, so that together with Haris Silajdzic they make up a trio that has proved to be completely unsuccessful. I think that in the beginning they decided to concentrate the power in the hands of a few people because they believed the war would be over soon, so that there would be fewer people to take a share in the distribution of postwar privileges and credits. They did not care about other people's attitudes; I myself have been most active in criticizing Izetbegovic's policy, although representatives of the Serbian and the Croatian people in the Presidency did not give me very significant support.

[Studio 99] Do not you think the time has come to redefine the entire Bosnian policy, particularly the Muslim people and the SDA?

[Abdic] We cannot avoid a comprehensive analysis of the political, military, and economic situation. Such an analysis will reveal all the failures. The crucial question is to what extent the Presidency performs its legal function in concert with the Constitution and its statute. In the Presidency, being the supreme commander of the armed forces, many decisions on the armed forces have been made without any support. Instead of taking part in real Presidency sessions, we have been making certain improvisations and carrying them out. At those "sessions" members of the Presidency, vice chairmen of the Assembly and the government have been constantly shifted around so that certain resolutions may be adopted, having been determined in advance, and expressing the interests of several people in Izetbegovic's circle. We have to start by recognizing the mistakes made by the Presidency, and at the same time the supreme army commanders. If we take a look at the organization and improvisation, we shall see that a small number of people actually makes decisions on orders issued to all by the Presidency, then passed on to lower units. Many people wanted me to go to central Bosnia, or Herzegovina, but what would my going there mean in a situation where orders are issued from the top, without my knowledge. The line leading from Izetbegovic to Delic to Pasalic is quite obvious; any other civil or military structures, including myself, mean nothing. All I can do in the field is to play the part of a simple extra and observer. I do not have to be in Sarajevo to be able to participate in decisionmaking by the leadership. I may even be in America and send my answer by telefax, however, they do not allow that. Which is to say, if you are not on the spot, you will have to put up with the justifiable criticisms of citizens, but if you are on the spot, you can only stand there as if you were an extra, and observe the consequences of those orders.

So while the Presidency makes appeals, the conflict blazes, and we are brooding over who is to blame, Croats or Muslims, instead of looking for an ansere to whether the leadership gave an order that actually provoked those clashes. The key of the problem rests there. I have already pointed at the need for the redefinition of our entire policy and method of work of the Presidency, as well as of any single individual there. No analysis of relations among the Presidency, government, and other institutions has ever been made, nor a study of ways in which those relations and interests may be harmonized. We must not occupy ourselves with the problem of changes in the top circle of the Presidency. We have even indoctrinated the entire world with the question of whether it is Abdic who should succeed to Izetbegovic's function, instead of showing that so long the Presidency as the collective head of the state functions, Izetbegovic needs not to feel endangered, because he is only a peer among the equals. He cannot deal with the complexity of being a head of the state alone.

Culpability of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina

[Studio 99] One of the key questions today is the conflict in central Bosnia. What are the causes of the conflict between Muslims and Croats?

[Abdic] The causes of that conflict are to be found in the methodology and subject matter of the work of the Presidency. Since the first day I came to the Presidency I have insisted on our adopting a definitive attitude in that respect. That has never been done. The cause must be sought in the work of the Presidency; all its members are obligated to prevent anybody from making an improvisation out of the collective work in order to accomplish personal goals. We, as the members of the Presidency who are at the same time the supreme army commander, have to seek the causes of conflict in the Presidency, if we really recognize the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Presidency. I have been reproached for blaming the Bosnian Army, however, I also blame myself since I am also the member of that supreme command. I should never have let my work be talked down by anybody, particularly not one of its members. I appealed to the Muslim people to immediately terminate clashes, without going into a more profound analysis of the essence of the conflict. Everybody should seek the causes in his own person, that is the essence of the problem. We, as the members of the Presidency, should start from ourselves, endeavoring to bring the clashes to an end. Many statements only stress the impotence of the Presidency and the impotence of individuals who are expected to prevent the further clashes. The essence is that we should start from ourselves, and seek the causes in ourselves.

Army Threatens Retaliation for Serb Attacks

LD1308105793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] According to a report by the department for political activities of the Croatian Army in Zadar, Serb terrorists based in Debelo Brdo fired three shells on the wider area of Maslenica at around 0100 last night. Approximately 40 minutes later, the Serbs fired five tracer bullets on Kasic. Shortly before 2000 yesterday evening, they fired 20 tank shells from Strazbenica on Priseg in the Stankovac area. Serb paramilitary forces based in Goles opened antiaircraft fire on Gradina and Senj yesterday evening.

The department for political activities of the Croatian Army in Zadar has said that the Croatian Army will be forced to retaliate fiercely and effectively against the aggressors' military targets in response to every further enemy attack in order to protect its vital facilities and people's lives.

TANJUG Reports Attack on Serb Village Near Maslenica

LD1308112493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1032 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Knin, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—One dead and several injured civilians, including three children, was the outcome of last night's powerful artillery attack by the Croatian Army on the village of Biljane Gornje, about 10 kms west of Benkovac, the Serbian army of Krajina headquarters announced today.

For a full hour, the statement says, Croatian forces fired destructive shells on this village from all types of heavy weaponry—guns and howitzers, multiple-rocket launchers, and tanks.

There was no peace either in other sectors along the line of demarcation between Serbian and Croatian forces. According to the statement, Croatian forces caused provocations on the Lika battlefield and Muslims on the Kordun battlefield. According to the same source, the Krajina forces did not respond to any of these actions and provocations.

Mazowiecki Criticizes Deportation of Bosnian Refugees

LD1308105693 Warsaw PAP in English 0858 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] Zagreb, Aug. 13—Former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on a visit to the former Yugoslavia, has sharply criticised the Croatian Government over its decision to deport hundreds of Bosnian refugees from the Republic of Croatia.

Mazowiecki, the special rapporteur to the former Yugoslavia of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, said that estimates put the number of Bosnians deported from Croatia at 200-500, an action he described as "a serious violation of international principles in the field of human rights."

According to Mazowiecki, "I believe the Croatian Government took account of my arguments, and my hosts assured me that such events would not occur again." However, he admitted that it was difficult to predict whether such promises would be upheld.

The former prime minister called for the suspension of the siege of Sarajevo as "an absolute necessity," and repeated his calls for the release of all prisoners and the closure of all prison camps in the strife-torn republic. He declined however to take a stand on the NATO plans for air-strikes on Serbian positions around the besieged Bosnian capital.

'Anonymous' U.S. Congressmen Visit Knin

AU1208195393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Let us now hear what is happening in Knin. The town is being visited by U.S. congressmen who, although they want to remain anonymous, are attending the session of the Krajina government. Danko Peric reports from Knin:

[Begin Peric recording] By attending the Krajina government session in Knin, a group of U.S. congressmen today started their 2-day visit to the republic of Serbian Krajina. They said that the session was conducted in a democratic manner, according to all the usual principles acknowledged in the world, and that they were pleasantly surprised with everything they have seen and heard so far.

This denies the reports in the U.S. media on the situation and relations. This is claimed by the respected U.S. [word indistinct] leaders who want to remain anonymous. They say that they will present their impressions when they return from the republic of Serbian Krajina.

They also held a meeting with a delegation of the presidency of the Knin communal assembly and the executive council of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina led by Milan Babic. As the information service of the Knin commune announced, the U.S. congressmen were told that sanctions are inflicting damage on Yugoslavia, the Serbian republic, and the Serbian Krajina, and that they are only encouraging the proponents of war. They were also told that the Serbs and the Croats can only live in the separate states of Krajina and Croatia.

Reports from the Krajina-Croatian fronts indicate that in the last 24 hours it has been somewhat quieter than in the period before that. According to the information of the general staff of the Serbian army of Krajina, the Croatian Army has been noticed moving, it was stated, in the background.

The Krajina positions came under fire in Ramici between Novigrad and Obrovac. The missiles, which caused fires, landed on civilian targets in Meka [name indistinct] and around Ribnica in the same area. Raduc, on the Lika front, was attacked with mortars, while Pocitelj near Medak came under gun fire. [end recording]

Granic Denies Tudjman Proposed Division of Bosnia

LD1208204993 Hamburg DPA in German 1917 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Munich (DPA)—In the words of Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman did not propose the division of Bosnia at the Geneva negotiations. Rather, a relevant agreement with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic came about as a result of pressure from EC mediator Lord Owen, Granic has said in an interview with the Munich-based "SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" (Friday edition).

His government, however, does not insist on adherence to that agreement but is ready for other solutions as well. Granic said: "Croatia has an fundamental interest in a speedy end to the war." The Bosnian Croats are at present being attacked equally by the Muslims and the Serbs, he said.

Granic announced that European Route 5, the "autoput" [highway], and the railways would be reopened and oil pipelines and electric cables would be repaired. In peaceful talks on autonomy for the Serbs, "the territorial integrity of Croatia must not be violated," he said.

Granic denied that Croatian Government troops are currently involved in the fighting in Bosnia. He conceded, however, that former soldiers and officers "as high as the rank of general" are fighting in the Bosnian Croat armed forces in Bosnia.

Muslim Refugees Leaving Croatia

93BA1323C Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 93 p 29

[Article by Vesna Roller: "Frolicking with Muslim Refugees"]

[Text] Despite the declared good will of the Croatian Government, it appears that more and more Muslim refugees are leaving Croatia. This is even confirmed by the government's Office for Exiles and Refugees, which acknowledges that of the several hundred Muslims who were, for example, offered lodging in the settlement of Gacinci, only around 160 of them settled there. Admittedly, officials at the Office take this very fact as evidence that a large number of deserters from Bosnia-Herzegovina enjoyed refugee rights even though they did not really need such rights, because now these same people have found private lodging in places where they were previously cared for, for which they apparently have enough of their own resources. Others—around 400 of them—accepted an invitation by Pakistan, while a certain number of Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina, who first stayed in Croatia, have "temporarily" moved to Jordan, whose emissaries have lately been especially active in touring settlements with Muslim refugees all over Croatia and offering attractive arrangements for staying in their homeland, including "intensive" religious education, according to a foreign report that was broadcast on HTV [Croatian Television].

The flip side of the present-day life of Muslim refugees in Croatia—the conditions and atmosphere in which they live—reflects the fact, which even Croatian officials do not deny, that the majority of refugee settlements in Croatia have been ghettoized, that the Croats have been expelled, or rather moved to other locations from all the structures where they coexisted with the Muslims up until recently. This was done, for example, in the aforementioned settlement of Gacinci, while officials with the government's Office explain that the approximately 300 Croat exiles and refugees were expelled because of "practical reasons—food and so on."

At a recent press conference for domestic and foreign journalists, Croatian President Tudjman mentioned other reasons for ghettoizing Muslims. He explained that one of the reasons for moving the Muslim refugees was "concern for their safety, because many Croats from central Bosnia (who were displaced from their homes during June and settled in Croatia) are outraged that Croatia is caring for Muslims whose fellow countrymen are waging war against Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and this creates tension and incidents." The Croatian public has tended to whisper about the incidents that President Tudjman mentions rather than discuss them aloud. The only one that has been reported in Croatian newspapers throughout recent months happened to a Muslim woman, a Croatian citizen, whose house in the Makarska region was burned down during the first half of June by unknown perpetrators.

It can be assumed that plenty of "minor" incidents have been hidden from public view, given the fact that in recent times, or more exactly since the escalation of the Croat-Muslim fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, individual Croatian officials have used the Muslim refugees as a means of pressuring the Muslim leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thus, back in early June, after the first mass expulsions of Croats from central Bosnia, Vladimir Seks, the Croatian vice prime minister, announced on state television that Croatia would consider a change of attitude toward citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina in its territory. Although Seks later backed off by saying that he was thinking only of officials of Bosnia-Herzegovina traveling around Croatia and not appreciating the fact that they are in the territory of another sovereign state, the impression remained that even the highest echelons of Croatian authority approve of revanchism toward Muslims.

Serbs Leaving Serbian Republic of Krajina

93BA1314A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 93 p 17

[Article by Srdjan Radulovic: "Exodus of Serbs From Ethnically Pure Krajina"]

[Text] Does the pontoon connection of the shores of Maslenica Gorge suggest replacement of the battlefield for the green felt of the negotiating table at which Krajina-Croatian relations will be resolved, or only a brief respite just before resumption of the three-year exhaustion by war? Between Zagreb and Knin, judging by past experience, arms have been the only "constant." When it seemed that a peaceful method of resolving disputes had become the only alternative to war, the weapons began to speak.

And while the military and political analysts are attempting to knit together commentary and forecasts that would withstand the trials of coming days longer than the pontoon bridge the blows of the storm from Velebit, people forget the process which has persisted practically from the very beginning of the armed conflicts and which could decisively influence the cooling of the gun barrels. This is the exodus of the population, and neither Croatia nor Krajina have been spared that process. However, these are not the ethnic migrations that resulted from the war, pressures, and threats of majority nationalities (that process has passed its culmination in Croatia and in Krajina), but an exodus of Croats from Croatia and Serbs from Krajina.

Mobilization in Belgrade...

There are no exact figures on the number of Serbs who have left Krajina, so it is difficult to speak with any precision about the regions which have lost the most or about their age- or skill-specific composition. At the moment, in Krajina they are officially using the figure that on the territory of the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina], with an area of 13,913 square kilometers, there are about 500,000 inhabitants, of whom nearly 100,000 are refugees from Croatia. Among the approximately 400,000 "domestic" inhabitants, 88 percent are Serbs, 7 percent Croats, and 5 percent "others."

According to the 1981 Population Census, the total population on the territory of the SAO [Serbian Autonomous Oblast] Krajina was 240,466, 71 percent of whom were Serbs. A sizable percentage were "Yugoslavs," and, for example, in 1981, 12 percent of the 43,730 inhabitants of Knin Opstina so declared, while 9 percent were Croats. The figures used by the Krajina authorities show that there are slightly more than 260,000 inhabitants on the territory of the former SAO Krajina, including the territory of the so-called pink areas, where, according to the same sources, 55,000 Serbs are living, and to that number we also need to add nearly 30,000 refugees from Croatia, not counting the Serbs who have fled from the Zadar hinterland after the Croatian aggression. At the same time, the share of the Serbs in the total population has climbed to over 95 percent.

The conclusion might be drawn that there are not fewer Serbs, not including those from the so-called pink areas. However, these figures are based either on the old population census or on the new and incomplete census in 1991, and even the figure of 317,000 citizens of Krajina registered to vote in the last referendum cannot be a reliable foundation.

Nevertheless, it is a reliable fact that the Serbs are leaving Krajina. Following the Croatian aggression on 22 January, the figure was made public that all of 60,000 men fit for military service from Krajina could be mobilized in Serbia, having headed "over the Drina" during the past three years of war. That is a sure sign that mostly young people were saying "farewell" to Krajina. By Krajina standards, many of them have university degrees and are personnel considered to be in short supply even before the war. The Knin Hospital, according to unofficial figures, has lost more than 20 physicians and specialists. At Gavrilovic in Petrinja not even a third of the 80 specialists has remained. Mechanical and electrical engineers and so on are leaving. Private operators with sizable capital have mainly transferred a quite substantial portion of their funds to Serbia and started new businesses. Even high Krajina officials are more and more becoming "visitors" in the RSK. Goran Hadzic, Krajina president, has long been a resident of Novi Sad, and there is more and more talk and guessing about the Belgrade apartments of officials past and present.

...and London, Toronto...

However, Serbia is not the only refuge. Young people are mainly going abroad. Last year, there was an up-to-date figure that about 3,000 young men had applied to an agency serving as intermediary for departure to the Republic of South Africa. Canada is also attractive, as are the countries of West Europe.

The war and uncertainty are the main reasons for leaving. In second place are the powerlessness of the Krajina authorities to effectively combat violence, the uncertainty of the population, and crime.... Neither the social welfare factor nor the desire to provide better conditions for educating children should be ignored. The urban population is dominant in these migrations, which has already brought about a "replacement" of the inhabitants in the cities. The patriarchal rural population is more bound to the homestead, and thanks to rural areas and the fact that Krajina has no large cities which are consumers, food does not yet represent a critical factor in survival.

Although the people of Krajina, especially in the poorer parts of northern Dalmatia and Lika, have never been immune to migration, driven by the "hunger for bread," this most recent wave of emigration caused by the consequences of the war has already disrupted the age-specific and skill-specific structure of the population. Messages in the style of "stay here" are becoming increasingly unconvincing, as are the explanations of those who are leaving Krajina that "they are leaving temporarily."

Conflict in Croatian Leadership Discussed

93BA1314D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 93 p 6

[Article by Radoje Arsenic: "Who Is Tearing Down Tudjman"]

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Jul—Although the leaders of the incumbent HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] and the government have been persistently asserting that there are no conflicts or split in the Croatian Supreme Command, their public statements actually indicate the opposite. Yesterday, for example, Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian Assembly, reacted with a letter in the daily newspapers to the interview of Vladimir Seks, deputy prime minister, which was published a few days earlier in VECERNJI LIST.

Mentioning that "in these serious times, when many well-intentioned people are assessing with concern every political event and statement, individuals are resorting to a very dangerous pattern of behavior in our country, one which is first of all harmful to Croatia and its reputation in the world," Mesic said that "this applies to those individuals in politics and public life in general who unfortunately are unable to distinguish the pivotal points of Croatian policy and the strategic lines of that policy, or they are malicious and use patent falsehoods in issuing undocumented and blanket accusations of those people who are waging a principled fight for the interests of the state of Croatia." Mesic ends his letter this way:

"And in conclusion, what is the slant of the interview? Your readers will answer that question, especially when I say that all the assertions and insinuations made in connection with my person are a mere fabrication and patent lie. Nor is it difficult to figure out what political objectives were aimed at."

In the lengthy interview, Vladimir Seks said that those within the party who are accusing him and those who think like him of being right-wingers are doing so because they are becoming rich illegally, and he is a nuisance to them now, because he has been insisting "on an assembly of the Zagreb HDZ to talk about thieves." This is how Seks describes the people referred to:

"This is a very small, but superbly well-placed stratum of people even in the HDZ. Some of them are multimillionaires with capital transferred to Austria and Germany. In order to conceal their wealth, which was obtained through embezzlement and legal loopholes, they have launched an offensive action at the same time that I, encouraged by the party, undertook a drive to put order in the transformation and privatization and to clean up the rules of the game. In order to preserve what they have seized, they have begun to make a lot of noise in the media and in public gatherings to the effect that there is a conflict between two factions, two groups in the HDZ. And they have had the support of various mercenaries, including scribblers, in this effort."

He also went on to say: "They have represented themselves in that way in order to preserve their wealth, which is still in a phase of inactivity. In order to achieve that, they had to proclaim themselves a faction. Analogously, they also invented a counterfaction to which they assigned me, Susak, Vukojevic, Bebic, and Djuro Perica. We are supposedly right-wingers, repressivists, fascists. Given those labels, our advocacy of free enterprise, but not thievery, is to be represented to the people as an effort of rigid neobolsheviks to preserve socialism under the guise of state ownership."

Asserting that group is recognizable within the HDZ, Seks alleges that these people will be reckoned with "when decisions are made on government office," and also that "the HDZ will punish this in its autumn convention," and these people will "have to give up what they have acquired, because it will all be invalidated."

Asked about the background of the charge against Gojko Susak, Seks replied:

"The tactic is this: A group of people who stand firmly alongside President Tudjman has to be disqualified. This is the secret 'Herzegovina current,' which has to be proclaimed unscrupulous profiteers, who, concerned about Herzegovina, have been neglecting the defense of Croatia. The other segment, which cannot be classified as 'Herzegovinians,' is referred to as bolsheviks and fascists. I am included in that group along with others. And the background is this: The space needs to be cleared around the president so that he is left alone and they can approach from all sides so that in the final phase they can bring him down, but in the transitional phase they would force him to make decisions in someone else's interest. That is also the background of fabrication of the scandal about eavesdropping, that is, statements such as 'Croatia's greatest success is that right-wing forces have not won out.' And I say that Croatia's greatest success is that the left-wing, anational, and pseudoliberal forces have been beaten forever."

Today, Milovan Sibl, director of the government news agency HINA, has become involved in the shoot-out in the newspapers; he is reproaching Seks for accusing "highest representatives of the legislative branch of a conspiracy against the president of the republic."

Judging that Seks has "insatiable ambitions," Sibl says that "V. Seks has in a way been known for that since the meeting in Paris with M. Mestrovic, way back in 1989, and even for a propensity to sign his own messages with 'president of the HDZ,'" and he also wrote this:

"For every condemnation, there is also Seks' accusation of the opposite group to the effect that that group wanted to portray itself as acceptable to everyone, including the Serbs in Yugoslavia and the Serbs in Croatia. It is well-known that even a year ago Seks made a public statement that there was no living with the Serbs in Croatia and they should be buried."

That is how relations have been developing in recent days in the top leadership of the ruling HDZ, in which, Seks says, there is no split.

Italian Army Begins Deployment on Slovene Border

LD1208222293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—Special units of the Italian Army this evening began to deploy in the area near the border with Slovenia. The first units arrived at about 2100 this evening in the broad area around NATO bases in Friuli-Venezia Giulia.

TANJUG's correspondent in Slovenia has learned from reliable sources that large units will be stationed along the border tomorrow morning. [passage omitted]

In his statement for Kopar TV, Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa interpreted the military protection of the Italian border as "fear from possible measures against Serbians in Bosnia and precautionary measures against threats by Serbian extremists to launch terrorist actions against NATO in Italy."

Jansa was particularly surprised by the announcement of the Italian authorities that they have decided to deploy their units "along the border with Yugoslavia."

Peterle Protests Deployment

AU1308074893 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] The Slovene Foreign Ministry yesterday reacted to the reports from Rome that the Italian authorities had decided to deploy the units of the 4th and 5th Corps of the Italian Army on the Italian-Slovene border. Officials in Rome supposedly decided to make this move on the basis of verified reports that arms and explosives are flowing to Italy via Slovenia. Supposedly, there are also numerous illegal crossings of the Slovene-Italian border.

In its statement for the public the Slovene Foreign Ministry emphasized that the Italian measures are irrational and contrary to the recent talks with the Italian delegation at Strmol caste and their results.

For this reason, Lojze Peterle, foreign minister and vice president of the Slovene Government, has called an extraordinary session of the government today.

Report on Peterle's Official Visit to Belarus

93BA1315A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Jul 93 p 1

[Article by Mikola Seljagolic: "Successful Visit to Minsk"]

[Text] *Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle has completed an official visit to Minsk; the text of a bilateral agreement that will be signed in the fall has been coordinated.*

From our associate.

Minsk, 20 Jul—The official visit by Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle to Belarus was marked by a strengthening in particular of mutually beneficial economic cooperation. The program for the visit was extremely extensive. Peterle spoke with his counterpart, Peter Kravchenko; met with M. Marinich, the deputy chairman of the state committee for foreign economic relations; Stanislav Shushkevich, president of the Supreme Soviet; and Vyacheslav Kebich, president of the Council of Ministers; and he visited a large Minsk clock and refrigerator factory.

Peter Kravchenko expressed a high opinion of the level of Belarussian-Slovene ties, and in that regard particularly emphasized Lojze Peterle's services. He also mentioned that a visit to Ljubljana by a government delegation was planned for the fall.

The basic result of the talks by government delegations this time, in Kravchenko's opinion, is the coordination of the wording of a bilateral political agreement, which is planned to be signed in the fall.

In addition to the economic discussion, consular issues and international cooperation were also touched upon in the talks.

Lojze Peterle said that Slovenia considered Belarus a friendly state and that he was satisfied that he could personally contribute to strengthening Slovene-Belarussian relations. Among other fundamental documents that were discussed in Minsk, he listed draft agreements on legal succession, investment protection, and the elimination of dual taxation. He said that our state was interested in the further development and strengthening of traditional ties with Belarus in culture and science.

In response to a question about when diplomatic relations between the states would acquire such important attributes as a Slovene embassy in Minsk and a Belarussian one in Ljubljana, the ministers gave the same answer at the news conference: because of financial difficulties, it would be difficult to find money for embassies in the near future. The function of Slovene ambassador to Belarus will therefore be performed by the Slovene ambassador in Moscow, and the function of Belarussian ambassador to us will be performed by their ambassador in Austria.

If Lojze Peterle's plans for strengthening economic and commercial cooperation are fulfilled, there will be considerably more than just a few joint enterprises in Belarus and Slovenia, and it will also pay to maintain embassies in Minsk and Ljubljana. For the time being, only three of our enterprises are firmly anchored in Belarus—Slovenijales, Emona, and Kovin-Trading, but several others (including Le-Tehnika from Kranj) are taking the first steps toward mastering the Belarussian market. Perhaps the current visit by Slovene businessmen to Minsk will encourage the expansion of areas and forms of mutual economic cooperation. That will also happen, however, if businessmen are given a legal state guarantee that the legal documents discussed that Peterle listed as fundamental will be signed in Minsk.

When Peterle answered a question about the prospects for establishing the Yugoslav community on a new basis (the Commonwealth of Independent States syndrome), he said that such a community was not possible now and in the near future: "The levels of development and activity of the Slovene economy, in which inflation is 1-2 percent a month, and Croatia and Serbia, where inflation is several tens or even several hundred percent, are too different."

Judge Dismisses Jansa's Doubts in Juridical System

AU1208103893 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] The Council of Judges of the Maribor Municipal Court yesterday sharply protested the statement concerning the investigation of an illegal arms cache found at Maribor airport.

As is known, Defense Minister Jansa said, among other things, that the court is not familiar with the legislation regulating the import and transit of weapons via Slovenia and he, thus, trusts only the parliamentary inquiry commission. Namely, this commission can call as witnesses people whom the minister believes that the Maribor judge would have never summoned.

In the opinion of the Council of Judges of the Maribor Municipal Court, Jansa's assessment is contrary to the principles of a democratic and independent legislation.

In their opinion, the defense minister is unduly assessing the work habits of the investigative judge, raising legal issues, criticizing the release [of the four suspects], and doubting the success of the investigation in advance. Investigation Judge Marko Bezjak added, among other things, that the court must work in compliance with the law and not the tastes and wishes of the political leaders.

Ministry Calls Upon President To Release Tapes

AU1208161093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] The Defense Ministry has addressed a few questions to the Office of the President of the State regarding the tapes and minutes of the expanded Slovene Presidency session and the session of the National Security Council of the Slovene Presidency concerning arms.

The Defense Ministry has twice asked the president of the state for the tapes and the relevant minutes, but the President's Office replied that the material cannot be dispatched. This was justified by the increasing instances of the unauthorized use of classified material.

Because of this stance by the President's Office, the Slovene Government was forced to send an incomplete answer to a question about arms asked by a group of deputies in the State Chamber.

However, the weekly MLADINA last week published parts of the minutes of two National Security Council sessions of last June, which state the participants in the sessions and the conclusions that were allegedly reached. In connection with this, the Defense Ministry asks the Office of the President whether the quotations published in the 31th edition of MLADINA are authentic. If that is so, then the question arises as to how and under what authority MLADINA's journalists were forwarded material classified as a state secret. The ministry wonders whether the relevant person in the President's Office will press charges against the well-known perpetrators of a criminal act. Finally, the Defense Ministry asks when the authorized bodies and State Chamber deputies will be able to obtain documents that are obviously made accessible even to journalists.

Government To Purchase Aircraft, Antiaircraft System

AU1208181993 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 4 Aug 93 p 4

[Report by Tomaz Bukovec: "Percentages Are Flying into the Sky"]

[Text] Ljubljana 4 August— Yesterday, among other things, [Defense Minister] Janez Jansa said that, last Thursday, the government adopted the proposal on the law securing funds for a long-term development of the defense systems (we have already written about this in the Saturday edition of DNEVNIK), that is, the systems for defense of air space and waters, and armor-piercing military hardware. If the State Chamber upholds the aforementioned law, Slovenia will pay 2.5 percent of its annual gross national income for defense capacities.

According to this proposal, which will actually become topical in 1994, Slovenia would, for the period of eight years, intend 1 percent of its gross national income for the development of these programs that have not been included in the budget hitherto. Together with the budgetary funds, our country would, in this way, allocate approximately 2.5 percent of its gross national income for the defense capacity and the Army.

In spring, already, the State Chamber decided that the proposal must be drafted by 1 August, while our paper forecast the possibility of such a financing few months ago.

After a debate (probably protracted) in the State Chamber, the above law will reach the deputies and a two thirds majority will be needed for its adoption. The law will be public, although the specification of the money will be of a confidential nature. Prior to the actual purchase, we will, of course, have to wait for the lifting of the international community's embargo on the import of arms.

According to unofficial information, we would purchase six aircraft, two to three escadrilles of helicopters (six helicopters), combat vessels, and a medium height anti-aircraft system. The question is of whether 1 percent of gross national income will suffice for all this. The vessel will definitely not be a super modern cruiser but rather a small combat ship, the system for the protection of the air space, as such, will not cover all of Slovenia, but the Slovene Army will, at least, safeguard the protection of important installations. The aircraft, also, will not be super modern jets, although we can (if this law is accepted by the State Chamber) expect, even before the possible lifting of the embargo, the purchase of Turbo-prop aircraft with a speed nearing supersonic (like Pilatus, for example) that have a civilian specification and are unarmed, as well as civilian helicopters.

There are generally no training jet aircraft on the market, although the former Yugoslavia was selling Galebs [seagulls] to the United States by first placing them in a museum and then selling them to individuals in the United States with civilian permits.

Textile Trade Agreement With EC Initialed

93BA1325F Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Jul 93 p 16

[Article by Stojan Zitko: "Favorable Agreement With the EC"]

[Text] *Today Slovenia and the EC initialed an agreement on the trade in textile products, which will make it possible for textile producers to export to EC countries almost without restrictions.*

From our correspondent.

Brussels, 23 Jul—At the headquarters of the European Commission, an agreement was initialed today on trade in textile products between Slovenia and the EC. The signers were the head of the Slovene mission to the EC, Ambassador Dr. Boris Cizelj, and the responsible director in one of the European Commission's directorates, Jorn Keck, for whom this is already the 26th agreement signed on behalf of the EC with Central and East European countries.

It was Keck who stated on this occasion that it was the most favorable agreement that the Community had signed to date with any of the above-mentioned countries, saying that they thus wanted to help Slovenia. It is also viewed as favorable by our Ambassador Cizelj, who says among other things that during the last quarter of this year there will be a review of how the textile trade between Slovenia and the EC is going, and at that time it will be determined whether the Community would nevertheless like more protection in any of the areas. Its validity is formally specified for three years, starting with this one.

The document on the trade in textile products, of course, arose on the basis of the cooperation agreement already concluded between the EC and Slovenia, which cites a fairly broad framework for that cooperation. That is why negotiations are also to start as soon as possible on similar sectoral agreements for metallurgy, agriculture, and perhaps even for wine and other things. The trade in textile products and the agreement in connection with it is of key significance for Slovenia, since that industry employs about 40,000 people and contributes approximately one-fifth of total Slovene exports—of which 80 percent or about $750 million is precisely to the EC. According to the data on last year, the Slovene textile industry overall exported $922 million: $3.8 million in fibers, $76.8 million in textile yarn, $156.7 million in cloth, and $685 million in clothes and other finished products (among which transactions for additional processing have by far the largest share, of course).

In comparison with former similar agreements between the EC and the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], the present one concluded by Slovenia is also more favorable because they previously dealt with 11 groups of products and had specific quotas for them (quantitative limits), whereas now there are no such restrictions. Imports of Slovene textile products into the EC has thus been liberalized, and so-called ceilings are only specified for five groups of more sensitive products. According to the agreement, only if those quantitative limits are exceeded can a discussion begin on imposing tariffs for specific products.

We have heard, however, that those ceilings are also quite favorable, and there are no reasons at all for concern. In fact, they have been set in such a way that, for example, with a certain product we would have to exceed 10 percent of total EC imports in a given textile area, which probably will not happen. The same thing applies to the most sensitive products, for which this limit already starts at 1 percent of total EC imports.

[Box, p 16]

The next step in the process is the signing of the textile agreement, which has to be approved by our government.

Federal

Government: UN Resolution on CSCE Mission 'Unacceptable'

LD1208121693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Government reviewed UN Security Council Resolution No. 855 of 9 August about the activities of the CSCE's long-term mission in Kosovo and Metohija, Sandzak, and Vojvodina, the Federal Information Ministry has announced.

The government has concluded that the above-mentioned resolution is unacceptable because it represents interference in the internal affairs and relations of the FRY, a sovereign state and a member state of the United Nations. It also meddles in the relations between a member-state and a regional organization.

The activities of the CSCE's long-term mission in these regions is a matter that concerns only the FRY and the CSCE. The federal government recalled that, contrary to the claims contained in the Security Council resolution, there has been no refusal on Yugoslavia's part to extend the CSCE mission's work, but rather an attempt to have the mission's work continue on a basis of equality, in accordance with the fundamental principles and objectives of the CSCE itself.

The FRY Government confirms its oft-declared readiness to initiate talks with the CSCE chairman to determine the CSCE mission's new mandate as soon as the process of normalizing Yugoslavia's status in this organization begins.

The federal government again wishes to underline its readiness for close and constructive cooperation with the UN Security Council in all other areas under its jurisdiction.

U.S. Policy on Former Yugoslavia Deemed 'Immoral'

AU1208104493 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 93 p 2

[Commentary by Miroslav Lazanski: "Careers for Bosnia"]

[Text] One year after the U.S. recognition of the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a second official in the State Department has submitted his resignation. While, last year, also in August, George Kenney also resigned, saying "the U.S. Administration failed to carry out its obligations in the Yugoslav crisis," meaning, above all, the beginning of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, this time it was Marshal Harris, a leading State Department expert on Bosnia, who did so.

In his written resignation, addressed to Warren Christopher, he says "the decision on air strikes came too late and the administration abandoned its earlier obligation to preserve Bosnia as a unified state." The second resignation in the State Department is still being exploited by the media in Washington, but it contributes to the general confusion in administration circles when it comes to the strategy for U.S. action regarding Bosnia.

The State Department has had a "Department for Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia" for years, containing many ambitious young officials who longed to prove themselves and were waiting for a chance to do so. During this wait, between meetings in the architecturally dull buildings of the State Department and the Washington cocktail parties in a city where politics is the main economic activity, they would usually take lessons in what was then the Serbo-Croatian language, in preparation for duties in Belgrade or Zagreb. These "young lions" of the State Department insisted, to the writer of this commentary, that the term "Department for Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia" was something special, a sign to distinguish Yugoslavia from Eastern Europe, a sign of respect for Yugoslavia's position. Unfortunately the truth was that, in conversation, one could notice that they did not exactly know a lot about Yugoslavia and, regarding Bosnia and Sarajevo, they only knew about Gavrilo Princip and the winter Olympics. They always saw us as an exotic part of Europe and the Balkans....

War on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and particularly in Bosnia, has laid completely bare the contradictory impulses in U.S. foreign policy: the need for power and moralizing, the striving for "idealistic campaigns," and the isolation caused by the loss of illusion.

On the very eve of the collapse of Yugoslavia, unbelievable instructions and demands were coming from the State Department: Yugoslavia must not collapse by force, but it must not be saved with force. "The moral imperative" of U.S. foreign policy is characterized by the "principle of self-determination" and the "principle according to which not one single change to the status quo should be made or carried out with the use of force." But what does one do when these two principles collide and when "self-determination" is actually exercised with the aid of force? What should experts in the State Department and those who know about the situation in former Yugoslavia and Bosnia do?

All changes in the former Yugoslavia, the secession of the former republics, have been made with the use of force, and one can even consider the Macedonian referendum, which did not contain a question on leaving Yugoslavia, as a distinct "violation." How did the State Department and the United States come to finally recognize all these changes made by force? Why did the "young lions" of the State Department not resign then? Why did they not insist on a multiethnic, multicultural, and multireligious Yugoslavia, why did they not insist on it being preserved, just as they are now insisting on the preservation of a mini-Yugoslavia, that is, the former Bosnia-Herzegovina? If the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims could not live together in a big Yugoslavia, can they live together in a small one?

Of course, if the question under discussion is whether the peoples of the former Yugoslavia could live together, the writer of this article considers that they were able to live together quite nicely and that this was the best solution, but no one asked the nations about this..

It is nice when a State Department official offers his resignation because of his disagreement with events in Bosnia and U.S. policy regarding these events. Stressing the right to self-determination, protection of the principle of peacefully changing things, and opposition to aggression are not disputed, but this should then be sought always, everywhere, and completely. This is the consistent nature of the foreign policy of one country, everything else is extremely suspicious. From the State Department and its specialists one expects really strong arguments and moral reasons when military intervention is threatened in a civil war that flared up because of U.S. recognition of a state, a fiction. Otherwise, the specialists in the State Department can continue to resign, U.S. and Western pilots can continue to prepare for bombing, as well as for their own deaths, and, in the end, the whole shaky creation, the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, will collapse nonetheless. For the United States, this will remain a historically wrong and immoral involvement....

Government Asks International Court To Prevent 'Genocide'

AU1308110793 Paris AFP in English 1010 GMT 13 Aug 93

[Text] The Hague, Aug 13 (AFP)—Rump Yugoslavia on Friday [13 August] asked the International Court of Justice here to order the Bosnian government to stop the "genocide" of ethnic Serbs, a court official said.

It was the first time that rump Yugoslavia, grouping Serbia and Montenegro, had approached the U.N.'s highest judicial instance for a ruling concerning the Bosnian conflict.

The court had earlier refused a petition from the Bosnian government asking for the arms embargo against former Yugoslavia to be lifted to prevent the "genocide" of Bosnian Moslems.

Financial System Nearing Collapse

93BA1322E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 93 p 8

[Article by R. Nikolic: "The Complicated Lowering of Simple Inflation"]

[Text] Is what has been happening in recent days on the market, in stores, in banks, in the economy—the breakdown of the system? Did a breakdown occur intolerably easily and almost unnoticed?

A few days ago, in a conversation about the mini-stabilization program of the Economics Institute, Dr. Ljubomir Madzar, professor, gave a few examples as evidence that the breakdown of the system has already occurred. After all, as Dr. Madzar said, if someone withdraws money from his account just five days late (he gave a personal example), and the dinars are worth about 20 German marks [DM], but the dinars would be worth DM30 if it had not been for that five-day delay, then that is the breakdown of the system.

Another of Dr. Madzar's examples was the case of two peasants selling peaches. One of them sold at a higher price and more slowly, and the other at a lower price and faster. The end result is that the one who sold the peaches faster ran off and immediately purchased German marks, and thus in practice got more than the one who held his peaches at a higher price. That also is the breakdown of the system, Dr. Madzar said.

Inflationary Momentum Is Dominant

What, then, is to be done if this has already occurred?

According to the stabilization solutions offered by the Federal Economic Council and the Economics Institute in the form of too many stabilization programs, one objective has priority—reducing the printing of money. After all, this is one of the simplest forms of inflation, says Dr. Nebojsa Savic, professor, what is called demand inflation, which represents half of the present monthly rate of inflation. That is why the structure of our inflation looks like this: About 50 percent is inflationary momentum, about 37 percent is monetary policy, while the other approximately 13 percent is made up of the rate at which money turns over, Dr. Savic said.

Because of all that, according to Dr. Savic, the end of this hyperinflation will be rapid and will occur in one of two versions. According to the first, the financial system will soon break down entirely, which means that the dinar will have no further function at all and will be replaced either by foreign exchange or goods in barter transactions, while in the second version we will begin to recover.

As far as recovery is concerned, both stabilization programs have offered similar solutions: diminished primary issue, firm monetary policy, a single foreign exchange rate, a stronger fiscal policy along with better tax collection, drastic reduction of public expenditures, free formation of wages and prices, a special social welfare program for all those who lose their jobs as a technological surplus, because we should no longer pay for the temporary leave resulting from the sanctions. For the moment, no one knows what part of that will be applied, although Voja Knezevic, representative of the federal government, said in a discussion in the Economics Institute that they will be looking at everything the economics experts from various quarters have offered to the government as a solution for getting out of the crisis.

Dinars as a Big Fat Lie

New measures, then, are expected, not only from the federal government, but they have also been announced from the republic government, and, according to Nikola Sainovic, republic prime minister, they will be taken by the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] even during the coming week. What kind of measures they will be is a secret for the moment, except that there are certain hints that aside from abolishing the use of account money to pay for foreign exchange, the partial maintenance of price controls will nevertheless be applied. Will measures of this kind or any similar measures correct the present economic, business, and financial dead end?

Dr. Miodrag Zec, professor, does not believe so. After all, he said at the Economics Institute, the government is printing defective money, a big fat lie, printing dinars beyond all measure, and the public has responded to that in its own way by writing checks without the money to cover them. The ultimate loser is the socialized firm, Dr. Zec said. But regardless of that losing situation, according to Dr. Zec, inflation is deeply dug in in this system, and that is why halting hyperinflation cannot be expected to result from the way the federal government is going about it now. In addition, Dr. Zec said, it is highly likely that there is no interest in bringing down inflation, and this federal government does not even have the political power to do it.

So, that being the case, instead of sitting here, Dr. Miodrag Zec said, it would be better for us to go to the store and buy whatever goods are left, because soon there will not be any.

We will very quickly know what will actually happen and precisely what the measures to be taken by the federal government will look like, judging by the announcements being made from the highest places.

Banks Resorting to Illegal Foreign-Exchange Dealings

93BA1312D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 93 p 9

[Article by G. Volf: "Nine Million in Account Money To Buy the German Mark"]

[Text] The sidewalk exchange rate of the German mark [DM] held steady until noontime yesterday, but the rate of money in bank accounts rose frighteningly. On the streets of Belgrade, thousands of foreign-exchange dealers were buying the German mark for 4.3 million and selling it for 4.7 million dinars. Numerous savings banks and currency exchanges were buying the mark at 7 million dinars and selling at a fantastic 8.5 million to 9 million dinars. In the afternoon, there was already a new exchange rate: the street market was buying at 5 and selling at 5.5 million dinars.

This is evidence that the peasants still have not obtained their cash from sale of their grain, but large sums of money are in accounts in banks and cooperatives. This trade is less visible to ordinary people than the buying and selling of money on the street, so less attention is paid to it. However, this form of money speculation is also a potent generator of inflation, because firms and other juridical persons operating through accounts and having a hard time obtaining cash are the everyday clients of the savings banks from which they purchase hard currencies. That exchange rate is calculated directly into the price of the goods sold in the next round, and the rise of the exchange rate in the savings banks directly causes a rise of prices.

The savings banks are also large collectors of foreign exchange, because today it is difficult to find any sizable amount of convertible currency in one place, which is why an ever-larger number of street dealers is "turning over" less and less foreign money.

The public has been forced to take its last foreign coin from the proverbial "mattress" in order to survive. So that in this entire transaction, which incidentally is unlawful, it will come out somewhat better than it would on the street, the public is selling its foreign exchange to the savings banks or private banks. Although the difference between the street rate and this rate in the savings banks is always quite large, it is a relative matter whether the transaction is worth it. The savings banks are doing business effectively only in the ever-greater daily inflation, and just one day's delay in making payment into the accounts of individuals provides them large earnings. At the same time, every hour of lateness is disastrous for the individuals themselves, because as the exchange rate rises, they are losing exactly as much as the savings banks are earning.

The government spawned these quasi-financial institutions with its regulations, and now it does not know what to do with them and how to get rid of them, or to bring their business operation into conformity with the law. At the same time, no one knows how to furnish business firms the necessary amounts of foreign currency to do business with foreign countries and to import at least those most vital products and raw materials. In the banks, there is no foreign exchange, at least officially. To be sure, there is always some for those who have good business connections. The exchange rate, which people call the scalping rate, is always higher than the so-called account-selling rate. It signifies the right to make payment abroad or the purchase and sale of foreign exchange between firms. It is difficult to describe the kind of "paper acrobatics" that are involved in order to "cover" all this legally.

When a firm buys foreign exchange from another firm, the payment of dinars by the buyer is usually billed as a payment of "marketing services." But because this takes place every day and involves large amounts, new ways of covering the illegal operations, which are indispensable to survival, have to be invented. That is why good bookkeepers are in great demand. The same principle is being applied by all the commercial banks as well, almost without exception. The more they swear they are doing business legally, the greater their involvement on the black market. That is why the government banks, in the greatest crisis and conditions unfavorable for them, of which they are complaining, are paying the highest salaries, amounting to 300 or more German marks. And most of the employees have no real work to do.

A large number of banks and firms were buying large amounts of foreign exchange from one of our largest savings banks, which in the meantime has gone under. The dinar payments into the account of that private firm, whose owner has emigrated, supposedly went for exploration of petroleum deposits. In return, foreign exchange in overnight cases or even plastic bags was delivered directly into the hands of trusted persons or owners of firms and banks.

The savings banks are also covering their business operation with the alleged issuance of shares to their customers, by granting short-term loans, and in various other ways. The foreign exchange which inspectors find in their cash drawer they claim to be the firm's founding capital.... According to what certain experienced merchants are saying, all of this "paper acrobatics" of the savings banks and currency exchanges does a good job of covering the sellers, but not the buyers of foreign exchange.

[Box, p 9]

Investbanka: DM50 at a Better Exchange Rate to Old Savings Depositors

Beginning today, old savings depositors who have less than DM50 in their accounts will be paid foreign exchange by Investbanka at the official selling rate of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which is 1,386,511 dinars per mark, TANJUG was told yesterday by Milan Djuricanin, customer service director in Investbanka.

At Investbanka, in Djuricanin's estimate, there are about 280,000 savings accounts with a foreign exchange balance under DM50.

Savings depositors who decide to "close" their old foreign exchange accounts in this way will be paid in cash by Investbanka or the money will be transferred to a current account.

At that same rate, Investbanka will pay bills for drugs or tuition for all old foreign exchange depositors. These are payments made by transfers between accounts on the basis of proper invoices, Djuricanin said.

New Purges in Yugoslav Army Predicted

93BA1327A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 93 pp 13-16

[Article by Filip Svarm: "Armed Forces of Yugoslavia: Panic Used To Eat Lamb"]

[Text] *"As far as the sanctions are concerned, Serbs can live cff a piece of bread and lamb kabobs, as the situation demands," Gen. Zivota Panic said in late April in an interview with Germany's DER SPIEGEL. Two months later, the highest ranking officers in the Serbo-Montenegrin military have admitted that there is no more money, even for food.*

When the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was proclaimed a little more than a year ago, and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] was renamed the VJ [Armed Forces of Yugoslavia], a paradoxical situation arose: While on the one hand the continuity of the newly proclaimed state with the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was emphasized, on the other hand any and all connection between its armed forces and the former army "of all nations and nationalities" was repudiated. It was important to show that the military of the rump Yugoslavia was not the same one that had declaratively gone to war to prevent the breakup of the state extending "from the Vardar to Triglava"; rather, it was an armed force whose only concern was to protect all the Serbs of the world and, if possible, to guarantee their unity. This was how the process known as the transformation of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia began.

The first step by the transformers was an ethnic and ideological purge of the officer corps. It began in February, although the epitome was reached in May 1992, when more than 70 generals and an undetermined number of lower-ranking officers were retired. The basic criterion, besides the desire to get rid of burned-out figures like Blagoje Adzic and others, was to drive out all those—especially non-Serbs—who might sooner or later question why and on whose behalf they were waging war.

Then there were affairs like "Opera," the cases of Gen. Aleksandar Vasiljevic and Gen. Vladimir Trifunovic, where the basic goal was to find scapegoats for all the defeats and mistakes of the JNA through a witch-hunt against "traitors and ustasha spies," thus demonstrating the new military leadership's resolve to set things right. Affairs of the "Flower Shop" type provided additional proof of the moral traits of former commanders—comrades and communists—whereby it was stressed that the new ones are certainly not like that. Finally, when even those moves had been exhausted, there was a showdown among the transformers themselves—the dismissal and retirement of the generals who had previously been the main witch-hunters, Boskovic and Domazetovic, the "Centaur" affair, etc.

Irresolute

As things stand right now, it is clear that the main protagonists of the aforementioned transformation of the VJ have had neither the intention, nor the will, nor the strength to actually transform the current ideological military from which they themselves emerged. The only thing that they have succeeded in doing is to destroy everything that was somewhat functional in the former army, like the Security Administration. It is hard to believe that the political leadership of Serbia was not aware from the very outset of these consequences of a transformation carried out in this way. After all, after it finished playing the role assigned to it by the Serbian president in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former JNA simply became superfluous in his nomenclature of power. The basic priority of the local regime is to preserve sheer power, but the military is simply ill-suited for that task in technical terms. That is why it was decided to leave it to its own devices, meaning that it would begin to be transformed without laws clearly resolving problem areas and without clearly established means of financing, i.e., let everyone do whatever he feels like. The entire matter is additionally explained by the fact that the role of main military transformers was assumed by those generals who had converted from top communists to top nationalists over night: quite simply, people whose careers were based on understanding vital national interests exclusively on the basis of the dictates of everyday politics.

Seselj's Cauldron

Left to its own devices, the VJ, under conditions of complete economic collapse, was literally reduced to poverty. After the withdrawal from the newly independent republics of the former Yugoslavia, an enormous housing shortage arose—at present there are 25,231 pending applications for housing, while more than 17,500 military personnel have no lodgings at all. Soldiers feel that they would need 10,000 apartments in order to solve the problem, and that is what they have requested from the federal state. But the Law on Financing the Program to Materially Ensure the Transformation of the VJ Until 1995 (adopted at the end of 1992) provides for only 2,000 housing units, and there is no money with which to build them anyway. Moreover, VJ employee salaries are still determined according to the old law, which means according to the average wages in the private sector during the previous month. Payments are late in principle, and hyperinflation renders them totally worthless. The base pay of the chief of the General Staff (according to rank and position, without past labor and army supplement) amounted to 74,180,600 dinars in June, while it was 26,730,500 dinars for sergeants. At the same time, it is recognized that equipment is in a significant state of decay, that training is scarcely being conducted, that various suppliers of basic equipment and food are halting deliveries because the military owes them more than 40 trillion dinars.... In a word: collapse.

Thus, any talk of depoliticization, professionalization, and modernization of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia really cannot be taken seriously under these conditions. It is much better to look at the demagogy and taming of what the military still represents, and in this the real master is Dr. Vojislav Seselj, both on his own behalf and on behalf of the Serbian president. Specifically, the VJ has been forced to follow all the everyday political curves of the Serbian authorities, clearly no easy task. It has had to be militant and peace-loving, depending on the moment, and it is known that under such circumstances it is no easy task for generals to hold responsible positions. Dr. Seselj, as the main state inquisitor for traitors under conditions where "patriotism" has been the key and only measure of officers' qualifications, has run the show in the VJ. Last year, for example, he competently decided that the visit by former Prime Minister Milan Panic and a group of foreign journalists to a completely ordinary base in Kosovo constituted disclosure of a military secret, while a similar visit by Gen. Panic to the Podgorica airfield (witnesses say that on that occasion underground airplane shelters were opened up and shown) was not. His influence on personnel policy has been no less substantial, which is best illustrated by the examples of Gen. Boskovic and Gen. Domazetovic. According to the principle of one hand washing the other, he gave these two men a secure political background ("honest people and patriots") for their careerist ruses, and in return they offered him key information for a showdown with political nonsympathizers, as well as "material-technical aid" for various forms of SRS [Serbian Radical Party] activity.

When part of the General Staff headed by Gen. Panic realized that the influence of the Radical Party over the VJ had become so great, especially among lower-ranking officers, that they themselves could become "traitors" if they did not agree to satisfy Seselj's every whim, they decided while the Serbian president was in a peacemaker phase, during the famous assembly of the republic of Srpska, that the duke's most prominent players—Gen. Boskovic and Gen. Domazetovic—would be retired. The SRS chairman reacted with lightning speed: Gen. Panic was accused of everything under the sun, from a weak stance toward deserters to the unnecessary devastation of Vukovar, but the focal point was the deliveries of potatoes and toilet paper to the VJ by way of the "Centaur" company, owned by the general's son Goran. The language with which the charge was worded in VECERNJE NOVOSTI and the information that Seselj made public indicated that they originated from military sources. The radicals did not hide this fact; they announced that they were overloaded by complaints about Gen. Panic from sympathizers in the VJ.

It is believed that the chief of the General Staff was not, in fact, dismissed when Seselj demanded it because of his skillful wheeling and dealing during the dismissal of Dobrica Cosic. Allegedly, as a reward for his services Panic received a slowdown in the work of the commission determining the legality of his son's business dealings and of other charges, as well as a postponement of its report for more than one month. But the radicals did not back off—the VJ is important to them as to scarcely any other party. After all, dissatisfied officers constitute an ideal engine, while informed sources say that professional soldiers under contract are ideal antipodes to SRS voters. Seselj drew up a list of his adversaries, headed by Gen. Panic and General Staff spokesman Col. Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, who had to go in order for his deputies to approve the money, i.e., the budget. He calls them criminals and says that it is senseless to allocate them anything precisely because of the officers themselves and the state of combat readiness, because he knows that they are going to squander and steal all of it. As soon as they go, Seselj will loosen the purse-strings, after which everyone will receive their allocation according to patriotic merits, through the method of a communal pot and equalizing pay.

Boss

That something substantial is nevertheless happening in the armed forces has been indicated by the proposed laws on the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia and their consideration at the sessions of the Supreme Defense Council on 12 and 14 June. In the published announcement, it was stated that professionalization and depoliticization are consistently affirmed, and that finally the business of commanding and leading are being centralized in the hands of professionals in the VJ, who will be entirely under the command of the Supreme Defense Council. Besides liberalizing military life, the laws also provide for the abolishment of the current republican defense ministries and many other things connected with military organization. The same announcement also notes that the commission to determine the validity of the public charges against Gen. Panic stressed in its report that "there were certain irregularities in the business dealings of the 'Centaur' firm," meaning that the general leveled concrete criticism at the report, so that it was all delayed once again. No less significant was the announcement of the retirement of one-third of the generals and their replacement by younger officers....

The Serbian president has probably decided to impose order on the VJ, to discipline and centralize it, and under the current conditions that is most easily achieved through "professionalization"—something like the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs. Naturally, new, uncompromised people will be needed, which means that purges will follow. Even those who are not expendable during an economic crisis—officers born outside Serbia—will go. The current chief of the General Staff, Gen. Zivota Panic, will remain in his post for as long as he is needed only because when he goes, he will not go alone. In any event, his successor will not be one of the current opponent-generals.

Serbia

Seselj Claims U.S. Attempting To 'Undermine' Talks

AU1208144093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Text] The United States does not want peace in the Balkans and wants to undermine the Geneva negotiations with the latest threats to bomb the Serbian positions. This was stated by Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, at a news conference. According to him, the United States is working on a long-term destabilization of the European continent. Jelena Hinic reports:

[Hinic] The United States is certainly planning to spread the conflict in Kosovo-Metohija, Sandzak, and Macedonia, and in this way wreak havoc. Seselj also said:

[Begin Seselj recording] The Serbian Radical Party is calling upon all volunteers to assume the highest degree of readiness; to be ready at any time to respond to the call to defend the republic of Srpska if foreign military intervention takes place. [end recording]

[Hinic] The leader of the Radicals said that the federal government's decision to cancel the CSCE's mandate was definite. He said that the Radicals are ready to cooperate with all parties that work on that patriotic basis. This is why they support the processes in Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia], especially among those forces that are refusing foreign financial help.

Referring to Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia, Seselj repeated his earlier accusations, saying that it was high time for him to leave his post.

In a reply to a journalist's question on the possible composition of the new management board of the Radio and Television of Serbia, Seselj said that his party insists that the management board reflect the party composition of the parliament.

The current socioeconomic situation was also tackled at the conference. Seselj said that the Radicals have noticed that other parties have started supporting their idea of a more balanced distribution of the burden engendered by the crisis. Even though we do not think that rational distribution will make the people happy, and certainly leads to speculations, we insist that the state promptly enable every citizen to obtain basic foodstuffs. He said that the republican and federal governments must find a solution by 15 September. Otherwise, the Serbian Radical Party will demand their resignation.

Seselj also said that the state has robbed the peasants by offering them a humiliating price for wheat, using the so-called commercial banks.

SPO Accuses Authorities of 'State Terrorism' Against Members

AU1208181793 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 93 p 22

[Unattributed report: "State Terrorism at Work"]

[Text] The latest attack on the Serbian Renewal Movement's [SPO] leaders, member of the Main Committee Mr. Cokic and his family, who, due to sustained injuries are currently in the Neurosurgical Clinic in Belgrade, and SPO deputy Mr. Zoran Horvan, have confirmed our suspicions that this is organized state terrorism at work, which the authorities are carrying out and allowing to be carried out on SPO members through their gangsters and bandits.

Since the SPO does not believe that the legal and police authorities are ready to stop and prevent the spread of violence directed against our members, the only thing that remains for our members to do is to protect their lives and the lives of their families from state terror by applying their natural right to self-defense in circumstances of extreme necessity. This is stated in the SPO Main Committee's statement.

Commentary Predicts Civil 'Revolt' in Autumn

AU1208192193 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 93 p 9

[Commentary by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Waiting for the Autumn"]

[Text] The favorite Serbian social game at the moment is to guess where the limits to people's endurance are. Where is the point at which emotions overcome reason and anarchy takes the place of authority? The latest price explosion has destroyed any hope for the possibility even of survival in a country "rich with forests, gorges, natural beauties, and carefree people."

The reality in Serbia surpasses any optimism.

The official state trade union has announced a strike of all workers on 5 August. Would I be wrong (and how wrong) if I said that apart from a small number of impoverished people, war profiteers, dealers, pickpockets, prostitutes, matchbox salesmen, smugglers, and indeed the inevitable unemployed police, as well as the occasional curious journalist, will also be gathering on the square in front of the Assembly building? Unemployment cruelly reigns in Serbia, so it is cynical to call on workers to strike from state rostrums. Is it not enough for the regime to reign over the bodies and souls of its subjects? Its ambition is to restrict the ancient human right to a silent and personal revolt. Or, possibly, the organization of the strike is an incautious hint of the regime's fear of a more and more certain explosion of popular fury?

The apathy that long ago seized the people is disappearing in the face of the anger and panicky fear of the first cold and rainy days of autumn. The people, who have simply been robbed by various Dafinas and Jezdas [owners of private banks that have collapsed] in the presence and with the help of the regime, are coming to their senses. Forced into misery and poverty, the people are increasingly preoccupied with the masochistic enjoyment of this collective collapse. In the eyes of the people, the difference between the government and the opposition becomes less and less obvious. People are less and less willing to be concerned with "such trivial details as who is more or less to blame," as one sociologist put it. It is visible even to the naked eye that politics in Serbia is a most lucrative business. Leaders in government and in the opposition have never lived as well as they do now. At the same time, the people have never suffered so much. This unhappy nation has never been given so many empty promises!

What is the future of a regime whose policy is based on manipulation of nationalism, crushing the already too weak opposition, ownership of the state apparatus, an excessively clumsy and expensive police force, irreproachable control of the press, radio, and television...? This is the foundation on which the Serbian regime rests. The loss of only one of these supports would mean everything would be lost, even the most durable human passion—power.

It is pointless to try to control and direct people's dissatisfaction forever. Emotions are far removed from reason and therefore unpredictable. Mr. Slobodan Milosevic is indeed not a man without a strategy. The question is to what extent it is realizable. We have seen that by practicing two ideologies—communism and nationalism—it is possible to come to power. It is difficult to survive for long at the top with their help, but it is impossible to descend from the top in peace. Are we therefore in for a tragic autumn? Are poverty and hunger the miserable heralds of a new and bloody Serbian rift, toward which we are simply rushing, according to all indications?

If it is impossible to live in the middle of summer because both potatoes and onions, the normal food of the poor, have become unaffordable, what will it be like in autumn or winter...? While people are starving and, in the middle of summer, fearful of the winter, their leaders are on holiday—in Greece or somewhere else, it does not matter—they have the money to worry about the people's woes in peace and luxury. Using the "unjustifiable and undeserved sanctions" as a justification is not credible because people remember that compulsory holidays, for example, began even before the embargo. The sanctions have simply completed and speeded up the economy's collapse. This is very convincingly demonstrated by the increase in the national debt since even today no one knows what the money was spent on!

Readers will certainly remember how in Romania in 1989 popular fury burst onto the streets as the motor of the revolt against poverty and the willfulness of the regime. In the London newspaper THE INDEPENDENT Mihajlo Markovic, a deputy in the Yugoslav Assembly, said: "Unrest in Belgrade will eclipse what we saw in Bucharest when Ceaucescu was brought down." It is possible that Markovic was exaggerating, but only to a certain extent. One should write down an exact list of the Romanian symptoms that Serbia already shows. Is there any reasonable person who would not be frightened by this list? Apart from the cold and the lack of electricity, the Romanian list at that time and the Serbian list would coincide in virtually every particular. Readers should now draw the conclusions they want.

To be quite sincere: Is anyone working against the Serbs as enthusiastically and diligently as their own government?

On the road to proper democratization are the Serbs faced with Seseljism [Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party]? The regime is inclined to stress discreetly that, if we oppose it [the regime], we cannot avoid this warlord and his "elitist" followers. If God has decided that in order to walk toward the light we have to pass through darkness, let this be so and as soon as possible.

All of us are tormented by the thought: How to survive while avoiding the general conflict that hangs over our heads like a curse. The Patriarch often tells us that it is impossible to avoid evil if we do it to someone else. Mr. Milosevic even refused to receive this "living Serbian saint"! Are we living at a time which will be remembered for the creation of symbols of Serbian shame and not glory?

Montesquieu said: "A free people can have a liberator. A subjugated people can only have another oppressor. Anyone who has enough strength to get rid of the one who is the absolute ruler of a state also has the strength to become the absolute ruler himself...."

Has the time come when the Serbs will finally throw out the now already unreasonable need for a sacred leader, no matter who he is or what aims he has? And, finally, what is the price of the maturing of a European people nevertheless?

The wisdom of a ruler, among other things, consists of a refined sense of knowing in time when the way in which he has ruled is no longer valid. If everything in a state has failed, as has happened to Serbia, then it is only justice for those who have brought it thus far to withdraw, in a peaceful way, of course. Force and the police have not brought happiness to any regime and least of all to the people that the regime rules.

Milosevic Conflict With Draskovic Examined

93BA1323A Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 93 pp 14-15

[Interview with Dr. Vladan Vasiljevic, chairman of Council of Fund for Humanitarian Rights and vice chairman of Liberal Party of Serbia, by Sasa Ivancevic; place and date not given: "Abolition—a Double-Edged Sword"]

[Text] *Our interviewee, Prof. Vladan Vasiljevic, has been at the center of political events in Serbia lately because of his commitment to defending political liberties, as the chairman of the committee formed to free Vuk Draskovic. Mr. Vasiljevic is the chairman of the Council of the Fund for Humanitarian Rights, as well as the vice chairman of the Liberal Party of Serbia, and he is particularly involved in the formation of the International War Crimes Tribunal. Therefore, of course, we devoted the majority of our interview to this subject area, so that our first question directed at Mr. Vasiljevic was: "Do you feel that after 'Draskovic case' the authorities in Serbia have emerged victorious?"*

[Vasiljevic] Yes, I am quite certain that the authorities have emerged victorious. Most of all because our people are unable to properly assess the moves that are being made by those who are making decisions in the name of the people and at the expense of the people. The very adroit game played by the president of the Republic of Serbia has created conditions that once again demonstrate his omnipotence, with the help of his flunkies and loyal and too-loyal followers. Since it was not possible for him to prove the act with which Vuk and Danica Draskovic are being charged, Milosevic, with the help of the court and the prosecutor's office, succeeded in preparing the public to accept that they committed that act, that there is a high degree of certainty of their guilt, and that criminal charges can be brought against them. But then, he demonstrated his "good will" by forgiving the sin that they committed and demonstrating a false sense of humanity. Thus, he has shelved the entire matter, and in that way he is the winner, while the chairman of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] and his wife are permanently and shamefully stigmatized as the losers.

[Ivancevic] What is your interpretation of abolition from the legal standpoint?

[Vasiljevic] It is a double-edged sword, more for the person who accepts it than for the person who grants it. Abolition means foregoing criminal prosecution without first going to trial, i.e., without credibly setting the record straight. When it is granted, then it becomes an indisputable fact that the person to whom it is granted actually committed the criminal act with which he is charged. That means that someone from on high has simply granted clemency and pardoned the sin. In this situation, the public, which has been systematically prepared to accept and convinced that the Draskovices committed one of the most serious criminal acts recognized by our legal system—changing the social order—will never be able to understand and recognize the real intention of the person who granted this absolution. To the public, the Draskovices will be the ones who violated the law, while the person who "pardoned" them will prove to be, for the umpteenth time, a man with a great feeling for humanity, but none of this corresponds to the facts of the case, neither in terms of how far he has taken this country nor in terms of his personal traits. After all, this is a man lacking all human decency, who does not know how to be indulgent and forgiving, a man who because of his only personal interest—to govern at any price—no longer recognizes any other interest, or has a talent for denigrating something that is of value to someone else.

[Ivancevic] Do you have the impression that the international community is generating Milosevic's actions because of the way in which it views him?

[Vasiljevic] That is quite certain. He even explained his abolition in the most dishonest way possible. Milosevic's direct victory, which in fact reveals his arrogance, immorality, lack of scruples, and cynicism, lay in the fact that by issuing the order to arrest Vuk Draskovic he demonstrated his intention to the international community immediately before the new round of negotiations in Geneva. He inflicted the greatest possible damage to Serbia and the citizens of Serbia by agreeing to a very dishonorable partition of Bosnia in which the Muslims are completely sacrificed as an ethnic group, using the greatest crime known to the international community—the crime of genocide—which is what the ethnic cleansing of territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina basically amounts to.

On the other hand, the international community in its own way was inconsistent and not up to the situation. It appears that the intervention of world statesmen on behalf of Vuk Draskovic did not yield in practice the results that should have been expected. One has the impression that they took action more to influence a new favorite of the international community, whose task is to do the dirty work of world leaders, than to affect the fate of one person, even though he was a prominent politician in a country in which the international community has absolutely no interest. The international community showed that it is on the side of the president of Serbia and of his policy, for the simple reason that at this point that community needs him to do the work that it is unable to do. The sanctions will remain in place for the citizens, but the biggest criminal will be pardoned by the international community for the crimes that, together with his immediate associates, he has committed during the entire crisis in Yugoslavia, from the beginning to this very day. The international community will keep him until he does the work that has been assigned to him. By possessing the main culprit for the wartime destruction and crimes, this community is opening up the peace process that it cares about, with the sacrifice of the Muslims.

[Ivancevic] The impression is that the international community is leaving us to our own devices, concerning itself with us only to the extent necessary to keep the crisis from touching Europe.

[Vasiljevic] It is becoming increasingly obvious that the international community is changing its stance toward this region, whereby it is distinguishing between its approach to Montenegro, as a federal entity, and to Serbia as another member of the federation. This is because Montenegro has a more clear-cut political situation in terms of the rights of its minorities and is very cooperative toward the international community.

[Ivancevic] Still, this is not making Montenegro's situation any easier.

[Vasiljevic] This cannot make its situation any easier right now because it is the victim of a very faulty policy being pursued by the other federal entity, while foreign policy must be regarded in the context of the federation as a whole. The positive things being achieved in terms of the policy pursued by Montenegro are being degraded and turned upside down by the mistakes being committed by Serbia in this same realm.

[Ivancevic] Do you not think that the Montenegrin leadership right now is spending too much time dancing a tightrope between several variants and making some unexplainable moves?

[Vasiljevic] It is quite certain that there is discord between the political reality of Montenegro and what the political leadership is doing, and all of it is to the detriment of the leadership's behavior. My impression is that this is a consequence of the unequal relationship in which the two republics find themselves right now. Because of faulty solutions contained in the improvised 1992 Constitution. On the other hand, the policy of violence and chaos has meant that there is very strong support in Montenegro for the militant, pro-Serb policy, whereby the threat exists, if Montenegro were to make any more serious moves in relations with the federation and with other countries, that this could have serious consequences, in the sense of the outbreak of internal conflict or even civil war, which could be catastrophic. One must not forget that Serbia has created in Montenegro a complex network of the two radical political parties, which in terms of their program deserve to be banned, namely, the Serbian Radical Party and Serbian National Renewal. This is obviously conditioning the behavior of the Montenegrin leadership, out of the fear that the president of the Republic of Serbia, being who he is, could make certain moves that would be fatal for Montenegro. This explains the weak and indulgent policy of the Montenegrin leadership, whereby even in plans to create a unified party for Serbia and Montenegro, which is reminiscent of the founding, once again, of the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia], the leadership of Montenegro does not have the strength to respond decisively to the question of whether or not it is in favor of that. In contrast to them, the Socialist Party of Serbia has plenty of definite positions, while the Montenegrin socialists react as if they do not know what they really want. They say that they are not in favor of that, but in a way that confirms the belief that they will knuckle under.

[Ivancevic] If we go back a little in time, we recall that this leadership in Montenegro flirted even with those parties that are now radical. The joint actions involving sending fighters to the Dubrovnik front and similar moves have not been forgotten.

[Vasiljevic] The leadership of Montenegro bears no small amount of responsibility for many things. But based purely on political pragmatism, I am inclined to at least mitigate this responsibility because of certain later attempts to alleviate the heavy blows dealt by the international community. It is certain that the Montenegrin leadership bears a great deal of responsibility for the events on the Dubrovnik front and in Konavle; through its official policy, that leadership covered up a purely plunder-oriented campaign, organized by military and paramilitary units, which were under the direct control of the regular military under the command of Serbia and Belgrade. If that leadership were now to be completely steadfast in blocking the unification of the two ruling socialist parties and not offering its support to Belgrade's political goals, which are extremely destructive for the state as a whole and for every part of it, and if those directly to blame for the crimes committed during military operations on the southern front were to be held responsible for those actions, then part of the leadership's blame could be forgotten.

[Ivancevic] There is unquestionably the impression that the beginning of fall will bring with it new fighting and new ethnic cleansing, as a consequence of both the Geneva agreements and the realization of old plans. Can the sequence of moves be predicted?

[Vasiljevic] This fall, the international community could feel a sense of satisfaction because the fighting in Bosnia will calm down, since the Muslims objectively no longer have the strength, nor are they in a position to resist the Croats' and Serbs' partition plans. The calm that would emerge then would open up the southern front: Kosovo and Macedonia, because if things continue as they are, the minority in Kosovo is threatened by the fate of the Muslim ethnic group. But the Albanians are apparently unwilling to accept this as the Muslims have.

[Ivancevic] What is your view of relations between Serbia and Montenegro in this light?

[Vasiljevic] Personally, I think that this relationship is hopeless. Montenegro can remain in this forcibly created federation only by following a suicidal instinct. Since besides the current leadership Montenegro also has a circle of people who are serious about politics, with a sense for political pragmatism, I do not believe that it will behave suicidally, but instead will probably seek the most painless way of emerging from the darkness imposed on it.

[Ivancevic] One cannot forget the enormous potential of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia [VJ] stationed in Montenegro.

[Vasiljevic] Well, in that case the international community would have a much more clear-cut situation than the one in Bosnia, or in Kosovo. When I say this I am thinking of Italy's obvious inclination toward being an important intermediary in establishing normal relations and offering real protection to Montenegro. In addition, if the Serbian military or the so-called VJ, which is under Serbian control, were to attempt to prevent separation by force, then it would have to count on very serious intervention by the world, which would be easier given the geostrategic position of Montenegro in relation to Europe, especially the southern part, which has always been important to strategic considerations.

Serbian Economic Chamber Makes Demands

93BA1322C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 93 p 9

[Article by B. Dumic: "Abolish the Black Exchange Market Immediately"]

[Text] The Economic Chamber of Serbia [PK Serbia] is calling upon the government to abolish the black market for foreign exchange this very day and to prohibit purchase of foreign exchange with account money, Vlajko Stojiljkovic, president of the Serbian Economic Chamber, said at yesterday's news conference.

In the advance release for journalists concerning the discussion in the meeting the day before yesterday of the Chamber's Presidium concerning current economic developments, Mr. Stojiljkovic said that the decline of production and hyperinflation have not been halted. On the contrary. In the chamber, they see the reason for this failure in the tardy measures and money from primary issue for working capital as well as in the inconsistency in carrying out measures, but also in the inadequate contribution of the economy itself to better economic developments.

The president of the PK Serbia, fighting an example of inconsistency, mentioned the federal government's decision on 16 May which established two exchange rates for the dinar, a decision which obviously is not being respected. Likewise, he added, the federal government's measures of a month ago have not yielded results either.

Referring to the gray economy, which accounts for 45 percent of the total economy, Mr. Stojiljkovic said that tax measures must narrow the space for speculative transactions. This, he elaborated, would help to increase budget revenues and also to finance consumption from real sources, which would cut down the percentage of inflation. Also, there should be more efficiency in government agencies as well as the social services and government expenditure.

Following yesterday's preliminary discussion with government and trade union representatives, Stojiljkovic said that on a one-time basis, to ease the standard represented by the mini market basket, an agreement had been made to pay 70 million dinars per employee for June, which would be done without payment of taxes and contributions. And in a few days the new level of the minimum guaranteed payment for June is to be established, and then wages which had not been paid for June, in the amount of 90 million dinars, would be paid immediately.

Speaking specifically about the exchange rate for account money, which has had a large contribution to raising prices, while he mentioned that the National Bank of Yugoslavia has a duty and authority to prevent speculations that put pressure on the dinar as legal tender, the president of the PK Serbia said that the Chamber has always favored moderate and flexible monetary policy and that primary issue should above all stimulate production.

This year's wheat harvest, given the circumstances under which it took place, ended satisfactorily, the journalists were informed yesterday by Zivojin Matic, member of the Chamber's Presidium and director of Serbia's material reserves.

Up to now, incidentally, 682,000 metric tons of wheat have been purchased, which, in Matic's estimate, is satisfactory. Almost twice as much wheat as was produced on state farms has been stored, so that we are well-supplied with this agricultural crop.

Some of the wheat purchased has not yet been paid for because of the lack of cash, but it is the position of the Government of Serbia that the producers must in no way be hurt, Mr. Matic said. That is why producers will be paid the last price, the one at the moment payment is made, not the price in effect at the time when the purchase was made.

Worker Strikes Bring No Results

93BA1322A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 93 p 7

[Article by Dragoljub Stevanovic: "The Minimum Wage Payment Is Halting Strikes"]

[Text] When the miners at Kolubara struck not so long ago, the electric power system was threatened with collapse and the Serbian public with darkness. After several days of a tug-of-war, the government, faced with disintegration of the power system, nevertheless consented to satisfying the demand of the strikers and loosened the purse strings to pay the guaranteed minimum.

This was one of the first serious strikes that touched the very economic foundations of operation of the economic system. It will also be remembered for the strictly enforced media blockade and the release of information in doses through the government-controlled news media.

But the more time that passes, the more workers are stopping work, and as a rule this is in vital institutions. The Montenegrin railroad workers, Serbian flight controllers, the workers at Crvena Zastava in Kragujevac, the workers in Rakovica...are striking. Will we soon see negotiations between the government and the drivers for municipal transport, protest meetings of the "white smocks," and read reports with a list of demands from Belgrade letter carriers?

Selective Approach to the Strikes

The planes have not been flying, and trains to Bar are rare, passengers are bitter, and the economists are calculating that $250,000 are being lost daily because the flight controllers have stopped working. What should the government do? Follow the example of former U.S. President Reagan, who, finding himself in the same situation, proceeded on the conclusion that government employees have no right to strike and fired several thousand of the employees and replaced them with military specialists of the same kind and retired controllers? That is considerably harder to do in our context, and many judge that this would only complicate the situation still more.

Nevertheless, if we overlook the minor accommodations of striker demands, the work stoppages, although they are becoming more common, are not yielding particular results. Why is that?

"It is of interest that recently all strikes have been approached with a negative connotation and, above all, a political coloring. Also, in this approach, which is unacceptable and unrealistic, the strikes are not approached selectively on the basis of the justifiability of the demands. It is not the same thing for flight controllers and secretaries in the parliament to strike," says Dr. Sreten Sokic, professor in the School of Political Sciences.

Sokic forecast an increase in the number of strikes, a further deterioration of the economic situation, and he considered the arguments of the blockade a story to tell to high school students. He says in this connection that the established guaranteed minimum of 90 million dinars for June is sufficient at present prices for a four-member family to live for three days.

Milenko Ilic, a member of the Presidium of the Serbian Economic Chamber, has a somewhat different opinion in which there is no room for words like "disaster" and "collapse," which others use readily.

"The strikes are not just a consequence of difficulties in the economy, the economy has been in a critical state for the last four years, and one might say even for the last 11 years. The problems have been arising because of insufficient monitoring of commodity-money flows and monetary chaos, above all the exchange rate on the black market.

"The government has not managed to find a solution that will protect both producers and consumers, and the Serbian Economic Chamber has proposed establishing economic prices, including the economic prices of bread, and then let the neediest, pensioners, schoolchildren, the sick, workers with the lowest incomes, receive subsidies," Ilic says.

Today, it is really difficult to find an informant who will forecast a growth of production, but Ilic says that a growth of 1 percent was recorded between May and June, and that better days await us in the fall. When he says this, he is thinking of agriculture, building materials, the wood industry, leather and footwear production, the food processing industry.... Because of the blockade, the situation is most difficult with production supplies and raw materials, but, this business executive says, production of coal and petroleum is up 10 percent over the same period of last year.

The Relationship Between the Trade Unions and the Government

Will this tend to reduce the number of workers on mandatory leave, who according to some estimates number 800,000, and according to others 680,000, including those on regular vacation? For the moment, the only visible result of the policy to date is the adoption of barter trade (wheat for fertilizer), with responsibility for management of the economy being passed from the republic to the federal level. Under those conditions, will the strikes tend to speed up the change of the political atmosphere, or will they be used as an instrument to meet the needs of the government administration?

"Our position is to support and directly aid the strikes which in recent weeks have shown through their persistence that the government can no longer apply 'universal' antistrike methods, exhaustion, and threats, but to honor in all seriousness the justifiability of demands and to offer a solution or basis for negotiations," says Sreten Sokic, who speaks on behalf of the Independent (Nezavisni) Trade Unions of Serbia.

According to Milorad Jovanovic, spokesman of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], which is announcing an aggressive social welfare program, there have been many strikes in recent weeks, but few results. The reasons lie in the fragmentary nature of the trade union organization and in the cooperation of that main "official" trade union with the government. All the worker "rebellions" to date have taken place separately, without coordination, and, says Jovanovic, only a general strike in Serbia could shake the regime.

An occasion for greater changes in the organization and trade union leadership "arises" in just a month when the elections will be organized. It will be interesting to see whether the principal posts in the worker associations are taken by people who have the confidence of the government and the employers or authentic representatives of the class of impoverished will be elected. Jovanovic mentions that in the trade unions of Rakovica, Kragujevac, and certain other cities new democratic winds are blowing. Only then will the trade union be able to assume the rule of the pike that chases the carps (the government) around the fish pond so they do not get fat.

To be sure, judging by the lines for milk, municipal transportation, and cigarettes, in which the public is venting its anger on the merchants and drivers, some people are "giving thought" to ration coupons, leveling, and a command economy, a logic which, one must admit, has never been far from many people in these parts.

Serbian Police Seen as State Within State

93BA1323B Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 93 pp 6-7

[Article by Stevo Batic: "Discreet Charm of the Police State: Two to Dictatorship"]

[Text] *There are many indications that the Serbian police is becoming a state within a state. This view is supported by the excessive concern about it at a time when it is experiencing the fewest problems, by its status in relation to the military, by its behavior toward the citizenry, and by projections of its role in future turmoil in the country.*

There can be no beginning or end to talk of the present-day police in present-day Serbia. Primarily because the things about it that are known, thought, heard, seen with the naked eye, and especially experienced personally cannot be logically connected. For lack of relevant and reliable official information on its operations, structures, numbers, or financing under the newly emerged societal conditions, it is useful to resort to "indirect conclusions." Based on events in the Serbian Assembly, for example.

A typical police ruse was used there in May of this year by Mihalj Kertes, a people's deputy from the ruling party and gray eminence in the overall secret life (and perhaps even life after death) of Serbia, when he threatened opposition deputy Milan Pejic with making his police file public (?!) if Pejic continued to provoke Kertes from the Assembly rostrum. Naturally, the matter would have easily and quickly fit right in with everyday Serbian democracy if Kertes had at the time held at least one official post in the police or any affiliated institution. But he did not. Then there was opposition deputy Ivo Djukanovic, who recalled meeting with Radovan Pankov, the ruling vice chairman of the Assembly, before the last elections. When Pankov told him that "it would not be bad for the two of them to work together," Djukanovic remarked that they did not even know each other, to which Pankov responded, "Well, I know you, I have read your file." There is no need to note here that at that point Pankov had no formal ties with the police either. Only then did it become clear to many people that in accordance with local "societal and political reforms and democratization" police files have not only not been destroyed or stored away; instead, they have been turned over for safekeeping and free use by vindicators from, quite coincidentally, the ruling party.

Police minister Zoran Sokolovic has not joined in with this discussion, nor have the following facts concerned him especially: After the fall of communism, the secret service of the GDR opened 200 km of police files and revealed the names of 100,000 of their authors and police informers; the Czechs went one step further and hung the police files and names of informers on poles; after 1989, the Romanians destroyed the majority of the files, while the most sensitive ones were put away for 40 years; similar steps have been taken in Poland, Russia, and even Albania—the files are stored for a period of 30 to 50 years, but in such a way that no one, but no one, can use them, or especially misuse them. In Serbia, however, the assessment is that such abuses should not only not be blocked, but that they should even be stimulated.

Applause for Move

This minor but edifying incident with the files was intended to demonstrate the superiority and the intentions of the police with regard to most of all the political or ideological opponents of the regime. The technical and operative strength of the police in dealing with the citizenry was supposed to be demonstrated, for example, by the everyday and often unscrupulous raids and manhunts around Belgrade and other Serbian cities at the beginning of the "minister affair" in March of this year. During the course of seven days of intensive mistreatment of the citizens who dared to leave their homes, the average motorist traveling from his home to his job had to negotiate through seven or eight ambushes of policemen armed to the teeth, while careless pedestrians admitted all their sins out of fear even before they had heard the charges and verdicts against them. The intention of someone higher up was presumably to show that it is impossible for two ministers to misappropriate funds without the tacit collaboration of the rest of the citizens of Serbia, and everyone, of course, must be punished for that. Whatever the case, police minister Zoran Sokolovic put the results of this (sort of) aggression in writing and in the form of his own splendid success presented them to the deputies in parliament. From "his own," he received the corresponding splendid applause. The very next day, the following fact came to light: If the mistreatment of the citizens were to continue at the same pace and with the same sort of intensity, and were to last for an entire year, the quantity of, say, weapons found and seized from citizens would be less than half as much as in the previous year, when the police did not undertake any serious campaign on this question. And that is not all. The quantity of foreign exchange seized, for example, was half as much as what is what is found in three "normal," ordinary days at the Subotica border crossing. To intelligent people, this figure served as proof that "that many police" are certainly qualified for something, but not for protecting the citizens from criminals and police officers.

In order to take a step forward, even in view of this chasm, the deputies of the republican Assembly recently approved the opening of a Police Academy, considering that the current annual production of around 170 highly trained officers must achieve the level that the nation needs—at least 1,000. This would equalize or neutralize the 80 percent of the police mass with a secondary school education or less. On the other hand, an analysis of the explanation and directions provided in a package with this representative scientific institution clearly shows the following: If the existing military academies are supposed to prepare personnel to wage war, the police academy was formed to prepare personnel to wage civil war.

Perhaps it would be inappropriate to ask why a police academy is needed right now, because the first second lieutenants will not emerge from it tomorrow, but rather four years from now, but it is logical to raise the question of priorities. After all, at the exact same time that they enacted the Law on the Police Academy, the deputies had at their disposal the freshest data from the World Bank on the national incomes of its members. Yugoslavia, with $350 per capita (generally a little more in Serbia and a little less in Montenegro), was for example behind Mauritania ($500), Zambia ($420), Togo ($410), the Central African Republic ($390), Sri Lanka ($370)..., but ahead of Zaire ($230), Uganda ($220), or Bangladesh ($200). Since not only in these countries, but also in much richer ones as well, under these circumstances feeding the people and housing the poor are at the top of the list of priorities, instead of police academies, one is left to conclude that the Serbian authorities felt that using qualified professionals to keep the poor in submission is cheaper and more worthwhile politically than investing in raising their standard of living.

Pinochet Lags Behind

It is interesting that—coincidentally or intentionally—precisely as the Assembly debate on the police academy was going on, the public was being shaken by a certain Bozidar Spasic, until recently an inspector with the federal MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] responsible for propaganda activity abroad. He explained in detail all the (naturally morbid) means and methods previously (and presumably still) used by the Yugoslav police in repudiating and physically liquidating more prominent political emigres. When the logical question was asked—whether such treatment is applied to the domestic opposition (internal enemies) as well—there was no explicit response, but the implicit understanding was: Yes, but it is easy booty, because you know that three Serbs cannot sit at the same table, not to mention something else (!?). The only conclusion that that inspector left behind and continues to leave behind is that the majority of the opposition is controlled by the police, by infiltrating its own people, forging, framing people, and plotting, and that it does so with ease.

All these police "activities," as well as the ones during the recent opposition demonstrations in Belgrade and the arrest of Vuk and Danica Draskovic, have once again, for the umpteenth time in recent years, raised the question of how many policemen there actually are in Serbia today. If one looks at the "employee salaries" (in the Serbian police) item from the rebalanced budget of the Republic of Serbia of 1 July and divides it by 100 German marks [DM] (good salary, isn't it?), the result is approximately 55,000 salaried employees of the MUP of Serbia. The MUP itself, with less compulsion, confirms the figure of at least 50,000 employees. Then there is the reserve police force of 35,000 to 40,000 people, although the MUP of Serbia is willing to acknowledge no more than 20,000 reservists. This figure too is covered in the aforementioned rebalance of the Serbian budget (under the items "special purposes" and "Kosovo"). The result is approximately seven policemen for every 1,000 citizens of Serbia.

In and of itself, however, this indicator does not say much, but it does say a lot if compared to similar indicators elsewhere in the world. Thus, for example, according to specialized foreign journals, states with one or two policemen per 1,000 inhabitants (including Great Britain) are considered "peaceful" or "in low conflict"; those with three to five policemen per 1,000 inhabitants are regarded as in average conflict and comprise the vast majority of states; states with six to eight policemen per 1,000 inhabitants are in intensified or high-risk conflict (it is interesting that this group includes many metropolises as special entities—New York, Mexico City, Hong Kong, Tokyo); there is not a single state today with 10 or more policemen per 1,000 inhabitants, but that number is considered adequate for a stable state with all the characteristics of a police or semimilitary state. It is also interesting that at the culmination of the Pinochet dictatorship Chile had only six, and Argentina even had somewhat fewer policemen per 1,000 citizens. In that sense, the "Serbian case" is not something to brag about in a worldwide comparison, especially not for the public, given former police minister Radmilo Bogdanovic's insistence that there are too few policemen and that more, more, more are needed.... It is also clear that the number of officers is meaningless if they are not outfitted with the corresponding peacetime and interventionary equipment. The regular police most often carry a pistol and automatic rifle, while the reserves carry submachine guns and, usually, PAPs. Even a superficial calculation indicates that the average policeman carries around DM1,500 in weaponry and equipment, while those who go out onto the streets, like something from "Star Wars," carry no less than DM3,000 to DM4,000. In addition, those who were, for example, brought to Belgrade from the outside for the purpose of arresting Vuk and Danica Draskovic received on 2 June, according to a statement by one of them, a per diem payment of 16 million dinars (at the time, twice the average pension payment). That only goes to show that there can be no power without money.

It is clear from only a few such observations (which are nevertheless nothing more than that) that even without an army, air force, and artillery, Serbia is a "regional force." Much of this supports the increasingly mentioned theory that the Serbian police is an alternative to the politically, ideologically, and nationally inadequately homogeneous Armed Forces of Yugoslavia in every regard. Milosevic knows that in the immediate future there could not and should not be a force based on forced patriotism standing between him and the masses; rather, it must be an integral, well-organized police structure of absolutely loyal hirelings who beat or kill without asking on whose behalf they are doing so. The Serbian police is already a state within a state, and its borders are already being felt in the citizens' everyday life. Perhaps those who did not take a stroll around Belgrade in June and July are unable to comprehend this.

Montenegro

Daily Views NATO Air-Strike Threat

AU1208095693 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 93 pp 5-6

[Commentary by Miodrag Vukmanovic: "To Bring Them To Their Senses"]

[Text] Those who are inclined toward certain historical discoveries and parallels will probably recall how Nikola Khrushchev once badly estimated his bloc-rival John Kennedy. At the time of the "Cuban crisis," Kennedy, risking the reputation of the United States and his own presidential reputation, quite indulgently endeavored to use diplomatic means to force the withdrawal of the missiles that the opposing superpower had located on Cuba, at America's throat. Khrushchev, a man who had been hardened in a crude battle for prestige within the Soviet party hierarchy, was not especially impressed by the young, well-mannered, and reserved man elected by civil America. He considered him weak, but then he showed off in front of the international community, threatened, banged his shoe on a table, and exaggerated his missiles, asking to be shown the corner of the Pentagon in which he could demonstrate their precision. When Kennedy finally realized what kind of statesman he was doing business with, the United States presented an ultimatum. Soviet power experienced its first great humiliation from which it never recovered, although the Soviet Union has, until recently, figured as one of the two world superpowers.

The Price of Impudence

All indications are that something similar will be repeated with the young Clinton. His oscillating stands toward the Bosnian crisis, ranging from the resolution expressed in the election campaign (and which does not have to strictly bind the new President because he did not have all the available information until after he entered the White House) to, later, seeming to leave it to the Europeans to deal with the inflamed part of their continent themselves, were wrongly interpreted to be Clinton's personal weakness, and not only by [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic's war headquarters.

However, the U.S. renunciation of strong pressure on the Serbian side, after the refusal at Pale to accept the Vance-Owen partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into provinces and other details of the peace plan, encouraged [Bosnian Serb leader Radovan] Karadzic's rabble of soldiers to further expand the republic of Srpska. No longer fearful of direct revenge and convinced that impudence pays, the Serbian commanders have not even shrunk from occasional attacks on the forces of the United Nations. The unwillingness of the European Community—which was additionally confused by the fighting between the Croats and the Muslims—to enter the labyrinth of causes and consequences in a principled and firm way, produced the general impression that the capitulation of Izetbegovic was only a matter of time. The embittered Western public, virtually unanimously, turned on their governments, pointing out the far-reaching consequences if a precedent were set in Bosnia. Clinton's popularity began to drop to a level that means a lack of confidence in the power of U.S. influence, and, in the whole of the Western alliance, some old cracks and suspicions began to appear that were thought to belong to history. Nevertheless, the powerful means of exerting pressure, the sanctions, have remained in full force and their destructive effects on the Serbian-Montenegrin economy can no longer be concealed.

With the help of the sanctions, the warring sides were again called to Geneva for negotiations. Clinton and his allies assessed that the decisive moment had arrived, if this moment had not been planned earlier in secret meetings between the allies. Everyone was, nonetheless, surprised at the sharpness of the warning that the United States would become militarily engaged in Bosnia if the siege of Sarajevo continued or humanitarian aid deliveries were disrupted, even if it did not receive the support of the allies for this. In his next statement, the U.S. President was somewhat more accommodating, but this is understandable considering that, in the meantime, at a meeting of NATO in Brussels, allied support was obtained for an air strike on the positions of Karadzic's army.

With French soldiers in the peace forces, the Serbian people deprived [French President] Mitterrand of his last trump card in front of a government from the opposition camp that feels uncomfortable because of the president's strong sympathies for the affairs of the French—first the Versailles and then the "socialist"—protege in the Balkans. The position of official Paris is additionally burdened by the specific status of France in the NATO structure, which is again connected with the creation of joint military forces of the European Community, the fate of the Maastricht Treaty, and other things. British Prime Minister Major, who has also acquired the reputation of a "Serbian ally" is not in a position to strain ties with his great relative across the ocean, while Greece, with continued support for Milosevic, would be dangerously exposed to troubles in the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community.

Russia, because of its general situation and particularly because of armed activities in the Islamic neighboring countries, does not have the standing to continue to yield to the expansionist whims of its unruly Balkan cousins. Since there is no longer anyone who could have more of a crucial influence on the development of events, it has been left to the Secretary General of the United Nations to verify the NATO decision. Since there are enough formulations in earlier declarations by the Security Council to formally justify limited intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the United Nations would not be a hindrance to the Western powers to embark on implementing their plans regarding the former Yugoslavia if they really have firmly decided on this.

There is no doubt that U.S. resolution is primarily calculated to force the Serbian representatives in Geneva to be accommodating and to make concessions, which is a precondition for the implementation of the peace plan and the state organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is completely pointless to think that the United States has entered the game with the aim of sabotaging European peace efforts, as propaganda speculation has been saying here. We are talking about generally agreed action that would force people, primarily the Serbs and then the Croats and Muslims, to negotiate in a situation that is not favorable to any side. The main threat is understandably leveled at the Serbs because they are superior in armaments, they control more than two thirds of the territory, and, apart from this, they have been marked in the international public as the ones to blame for the war.

Agreement in Geneva on the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina was reached with unexpected speed. Considering the seriousness of foreign pressure, this could even have been expected, particularly given that principled agreement was reached on the same thing on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan. Karadzic's acceptance of a union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina can be considered quite arbitrary, if one bears in mind the very disparate stands regarding the delineation of the national republics. The Serbian side is allowing a total of 20 percent of the whole territory of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to be given to the Muslim republic, while not even the international community is happy with less than 30 percent. If one adds to this the disputed corridors with unclear control, the promised access to the Sava River and the Adriatic for the Muslim republic, the disagreement over territory along the Drina River, and so on, there is more than enough material for a general solution to be obstructed. Even if agreement was involuntarily reached on this, the road to peace is full of hidden traps and as such is interminable, especially given that, once an agreement is accepted, general disarmament, the freedom of circulation of people on the whole territory of the union, and everything being under UN patronage will begin. Considering the present mood, this is difficult to imagine let alone implement. This is why it did not take much for Karadzic to agree to an overall solution, or for [Mate] Boban, whose hands are tied because of the still unresolved status of the Krajina, while without the help of the international community, Izetbegovic is in a hopeless situation.

This is more or less the way in which agreement was reached on the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina without the infamous maps. The constitutional agreement on a union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina is more of a political than a legal act. It has not gone this way because of the lack of legal-technical knowledge on the part of those who formulated it, but it was dictated by the unbelievably complicated reality that needs to be arranged normatively. The agreement was not designed to prevent the creation of any exclusive national interest, but to allow all key national entities to have territory in which to affirm themselves independently. The institution of consensus prevents the arbitrary abandonment of the union and the decentralization of all important authorities prevents any attempt to set up a unitary state. True, all this is terribly complicated, even for circumstances that are more normal than those in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the authors of the agreement had in mind something that is not spoken about in the actual text of the document. They have assumed that, after the establishment of peace and with the opening of free lines of communication and the gradual normalization of political and economic circumstances, many demands which the belligerent sides are now obstinately insisting on will be shown to be pointless.

Concessions or Problems

There must first be peace for any plans in Bosnia-Herzegovina to have any meaning. However, the Serbian side is aware that every important concession in the new situation brings with it new pressures. Among other things, it is being asked to end the siege of Sarajevo, which is a key location as regards ethnic delineation. Considering the Serbian war aims it can be assumed that they will only agree to this if they are forced to. If the Serbs nevertheless agree to some major concessions in Bosnia, problems will not come from the sky but from another direction. The fate of the Krajina in Croatia is inseparably connecTed with the status of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. It will be difficult for Tudjman to suffer another blow regarding Maslenica. If a war of wider dimensions is restarted in Croatia, and this can be provoked with the aim of disrupting the negotiations in Geneva, Bosnia cannot stand to one side. It is as if the devil himself had directed the plot of the Yugoslav drama.

If considerable progress is not made in the negotiations in Geneva this week, and this means that the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs, with the open solidarity of Milosevic and Bulatovic [president of Montenegro], abandon plans to create an all-Serbian state and agree to [Bosnian Serb commander Ratko] Mladic's army—like the Croatian and Muslim armies—being disarmed under international control, the Serbs could soon find themselves in a position to see how one fights against those who are stronger than oneself. The consequences of possible attacks by NATO squadrons on Serbian positions are impossible to foresee. It can only be assumed that intervention will escalate if there is any resistance. It is not probable that Clinton will again change his mind, even if his Atlantic allies once again choose to delay an attack.

Reasons for Strike of Railroad Workers

93BA1317D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 93 p 17

[Article by D. Vecirovic: "The Engine Drivers Will Not Listen to the Minister"]

[Text] Podgorica, 16 Jul—Taking action on the railroad because of the strike, the Montenegrin Government sat in extraordinary session last night. The meeting was "called" on account of the strike of railroad workers. In the meantime, immense consequences have occurred to the misfortune of innocent passengers, specifically those who have fulfilled their obligations to the railroad long ago by buying their tickets in advance.

The government decided last night (after the strike committee refused to even consider a return of railroad workers to work until the professional management committee is removed) to appoint Jusuf Kalamperovic, transportation minister, with his team to head the temporary managing board of the public firm Montenegrin Railroads. The strike committee then decided to "freeze the strike" until 23 July, that is, to give the new managing board a chance to meet the demands of the railroad workers.

An Agreement, Then Resumption of the Strike

The basic demands are these: equalization of their wages and salaries to the wages and salaries of their counterparts in Belgrade and accountability for machinations in the collective. All members of the strike committee voted for that decision. But when it was to be signed, the chairman of the strike committee, who is also a representative of the Engine Drivers Trade Union Guild, got lost somewhere, and later, when it was already agreed upon that the trains would begin to roll last night at 2230 hours, the engine drivers decided to continue the strike until the demands were met.

Thus, in practical terms, in Podgorica today, one strike committee or strike has ended and another has begun. The engine drivers, in contrast with the rest, have decided not to "hear" the call to go back to work, which was issued by Jusuf Kalamperovic, transportation minister and new chairman of the managing board.

Vesko Pelevic, chairman of the strike committee of the Engine Drivers Trade Union, says that the engine drivers have decided to persist in the demands, and they are waiting for the government to meet them. He said that he, as the highest-paid engine driver (he drives without an assistant), received a salary of 140 million dinars last month, and that the other engine drivers received much less, while their comrades in Serbia were receiving twice as much. The engine drivers are bitter toward their former professional management, and they say at the Montenegrin authorities as well, because it is they who appointed Milan Smolovic director, whose actions, so Pelevic said, had caused the workers to strike once already.

The Money Went Into the Hands of Private Operators

The first major disagreement and strike occurred last year because the director, without the knowledge of the collective, bought an Opel Vectra for 65,000 German marks [DM]. Pelevic said that he personally advised the prime minister of Montenegro of other irregularities in this collective. Among other things, the director was giving railroad money to private firms.

The workers accused the professional management, the director in particular, of having unlawfully purchased official apartments for themselves. Thus, according to the assertion of Danilo Markovic, chairman of the Trade Union of Railroad Workers, a contract was concluded on 29 April of this year concerning the lease of an apartment for the director, and that same day the director concluded a contract to purchase that same apartment, and the apartment was purchased, although he had not moved into it, but rather when all that was "being cooked up" another man with papers in order was living in the apartment.

Another five official apartments were purchased, which is unlawful under the rules of the railroad workers.

A great deal of other information was furnished in addition to that. For example, back on 18 June of last year DM10,000 were paid to the private firm Ferokomerc in Podgorica, allegedly to purchase linings for brake shoes. To this day, that is, a year later, the shoes have not arrived, nor has the money been returned.

The strike of the railroad workers is being paid for by people who are really innocent. But it is quite certain that the causes of the strike could have been corrected and it need not have occurred.

For the moment, we do not know how long the strike will last.

Kosovo

Albanian Political Parties Hold Meeting in Pristina

AU1208194293 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 160 in English 11 Aug 93

[Unattributed report: "Coordinating Council Holds a Meeting"]

[Text] A meeting of the Coordinating Council of the Albanian Political Parties of Kosova was held on Tuesday (10 August) in Prishtina. The meeting headed by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, and presented by party presidents, Dr. Fehmi Agani, (LDK vice chairman), Dr. Hivzi Islami, (Peasant's Party of Kosova), Mrs. Ljuljeta Pula (Social-Democratic Party), Bajram Kosumi (Parliamentarian Party), and Luigi Serreci (Christian-Democratic Party), discussed the current situation in Kosova and the need for and institutionalization and coordination of work among the parties and institutions in Kosova.

An agreement was reached for regular meetings of the council, and better information and cooperation amongst the parties. Participants raised the need for a better organization of institutional life in Kosova until the convention of the parliament of the republic of Kosova.

Serbia Reportedly Trying To Fabricate Terrorism

AU1208194193 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 160 in English 11 Aug 93

[Unattributed report: "One More Failure of Serbia To Produce Terrorism in Kosova"]

[Text] The Serbian mass-media reported in the last couple of days, referring to the Serbian installed Public Prosecutor in Prishtina, that on 27 July and 3 August several Albanians were arrested under the pretext of being members of the organization LPRK (People's Movement for the republic of Kosova) and LPCK (People's Movement for the Liberation of Kosova). Seventeen Albanians, three of whom were reported in flight, have been charged with preparations for resorting to violence and armed rebellion for the creation of the independent state which would incorporate Kosova and the Albanian-inhabited territories in Montenegro and Macedonia, and eventually, unite with Albania.

To cater for the needs of the Serbian authorities, the Serbian mass-media with an unusual haste rushed to present all the denouncing material: a handful of guns, drawings of military character and propaganda sheets. In spite of their desire, this evidence is not sufficient to substantiate charges for terrorism against the persons already in custody and those in flight. Allegations that they were preparing an armed rebellion are all but serious. The mere fact that these two organizations which had been allegedly operating since 1991 have attracted such a limited number of members makes even childish their alleged attempts for an armed struggle.

The manner of their arrest (members of one organization were arrested on 27 July, whereas the others on 3 August), the timing of the announcement of their capture, even prior to having detained all of them, as well as numerous contradictory facts and obvious inaccuracies, testify to the need and desire of Belgrade to create and produce terrorism, and consequently groups which would tend to use force in order to fulfill the goal of independence of Kosova. Through these arrests, the Serbian authorities aim at concealing and justifying several truly retaliatory expeditions the Serb armed forces have carried out in Kosova. Likewise, these arrests are to be exploited for justification of hundreds of raids by the Serbian police of Albanian families, under the pretext of arms searches.

The surprisingly hasty move of the Serbian authorities to alarm the opinion with the capture of the alleged terrorists, or hostile groups, "coincided" with the exact day when the UN Security Council was adopting a resolution on Kosova. Arrests of allegedly Albanian terrorist groups has always been synchronized with the political daily needs in Serbia.

The Serbian claims that the Albanian detainees have allegedly admitted in detention their activities, should be taken with reserve, as torture and most barbaric methods are a permanent practice of the Serbian police while proceeding with investigations.